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ABSTRACT

Acting on the belief that existing courses in civics and government lack success because they are largely redundant and fail to capitalize on recent research in political science, the High School Curriculum Center in Government developed a two-semester program entitled "American Political Behavior" (APB). The final report of the curriculum project focuses on what the project accomplished, how the accomplishments were achieved, and why the staff chose the path of development it followed. Included are a topical history of the project, the development and decision-making process leading to the product (APB), a description of the evaluation of APB, and a conclusion and recommendations. APB was found to be a successful alternative to 9th-grade civics and 12th-grade American government courses by featuring a social science approach to politics based on concepts such as political socialization, role, and decision making to derive greater meaning from political phenomena. (Author/KSM)

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Final Report

Project No. H-223
Contract No. OE-6-10-274

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REPORT OF THE HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM CENTER IN GOVERNMENT

March, 1972

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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REPORT OF THE HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM CENTER IN GOVERNMENT

The Development of a Program in "American Political Behavior" as an Alternative to High School Courses in Civics and Government

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March, 1972

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
National Center for Educational Research and Development

ABSTRACT

The High School Curriculum Center in Government was established on July 1, 1966, and completed its work on June 30, 1971. Throughout this period the Center's advisory committee consisted of two representatives from the Department of Political Science and two representatives from the School of Education. Mr. Shirley Engle, Professor of Education, was chairman of the advisory committee. Howard Mehlinger and John Patrick were director and associate director of the project, respectively.

Acting upon the belief that existing courses in civics and government lacked success because they were largely redundant and failed to capitalize upon the most recent research in political science, the Center developed a two-semester program entitled "American Political Behavior" (APB) that was found to be a successful alternative to both ninth-grade civics and twelfth-grade American government courses. APB features a social science approach to the study of politics in which students use concepts such as role, political culture, political socialization, decision-making, and recruitment to derive greater meaning from political phenomena. Case studies, simulations, classroom games, and reports of political science research are but a few of the techniques used for instructional purposes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A great many people have contributed to the work of the High School Curriculum Center in Government. Only a small number of these can be acknowledged here.

In addition to Shirley Engle, four men have served as members of the Center's advisory committee. These men are Mr. Byrum Carter, Professor of Political Science and Chancellor of Indiana University, Bloomington; Alfred Diamant, Professor of Political Science; William Siffin, Professor of Political Science; and Frederick Smith, Professor of Education.

During the life of the project the Center received friendly counsel and support from three successive Political Science Department chairmen: Byrum Carter, Edward Buehrig, and James Christoph. While the current chairman, Leroy Rieselbach, assumed his role after the project had been completed, Mr. Rieselbach was helpful throughout the period of the contract. He wrote a paper for teachers about political behavior, taught in a summer institute for pilot teachers, participated in a series of dissemination institutes, and was a strict but friendly critic of project materials.

In the School of Education it is important to recognize the support of Dean David Clark, former Associate Dean Henry Brickell, Assistant Dean John Horvat, and the Director of the Division of Curriculum and Instruction Donald Manlove. Each of these men, on frequent occasions during the period 1966-1971, provided advice and administrative support when needed. In the Audio-Visual Department Miss Beryl Blain and Mr. Walter Niekamp helped the project staff.

Special recognition is due Mr. Gerald Marker, Coordinator for School Social Studies at Indiana University. He has contributed to the project in countless ways, but his work is most clearly observable in the responsibility he assumed for the summer institute for teachers and the dissemination institutes he managed for the Center.

Individuals in the Contract Administration Office at Indiana University have won our respect and friendship for their efficient handling of fiscal matters. While others have helped at one time or another, we are particularly grateful to Mr. Ray Martin, Mr. Ben Chambers, Mr. Gary Drummond, Mr. William Farquhar, and Mr. Ronald Van Hook.

The Center has been fortunate to employ a number of capable individuals who have contributed to the project in various ways,

some as graduate students with part-time employment, others as full-time professional employees of the Center. These were Mr. Edward Poole, Mr. Eugene Michaels, Mr. Allen Glenn, Mr. James Lewellen, Mr. Russell Cassity, Mr. Michael Cabat and Mrs. Judith Gillespie.

A number of individuals were employed as part-time writers and consultants for the project. At Indiana University these include Mr. John Gillespie, Political Science, and Robert Hanvey, School of Education. Others were Mr. Fred Coombs, University of Illinois; Miss Rosemary Messick, San Jose State College; Miss Karen Medsker; Miss Karen Fox; Mr. Eugene Lewis, Hamilton College; Mr. Jack Lowry, University of California, Davis; Mr. Lee Anderson, Northwestern University.

Typing and clerical work for this project was performed by Mrs. Patricia Street, Mrs. Benita Mitten, and Miss Connie Carmichael. A special debt is due Mrs. Jane Lewis, the principal secretary and administrative assistant for the project during the entire period of the contract.

Probably more than 100 teachers participated in the project as pilot teachers. We are unsure of the total number as we have learned that the pilot teachers often shared their materials with teachers who were unknown to us. In Appendix F we have provided a list of "official" pilot teachers. We know that other teachers used project materials, but these are the teachers we worked with most closely in evaluating the APB program. We are grateful to those teachers who are not listed as well as to those who are.

Finally, we wish to thank publishers and copyright holders for permission to use copyrighted materials. Without their generosity the field tests of the experimental version of APB would have been impossible.

Shirley H. Engle, Chairman HSCCG
Howard Mehlinger, Director HSCCG
John J. Patrick, Associate Director, HSCCG

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I. INTRODUCTION

by Shirley Engle

Writing a final report for a curriculum development project is a little like writing a Christmas "letter" for relatives. Presumaably the author of a Christmas letter believes it is important to tell his friends, and relatives what has happened to him during the preceding year; so too, a developer feels compelled to report what has happened to his project since he was funded. Both share the frustration of finding how to convey the excitement and commitment of those who participated in the activities, how to share the frustrations and disappointments as well as the moments of success, and how to collapse all the efforts and toil of five years into a report that someone might read in a few minutes.

Writing a final report for a curriculum development project is not like writing a report of a research project. Usually the final report of a research effort contains all of the accomplishments of the team. Our final report does not contain our most important work. The program "American Political Behavior" (APB) developed by this project has been published under a five-year contract between Ginn and Company and Indiana University. Since this contract provides for an exclusive copyright for the five-year period, the major product of this project will not become part of public domain until December 31, 1977. APB instructional materials cannot be included with this report.

During the five years of this project, its staff produced four "occasional papers" to keep professionals abreast of their work, published a number of articles about the project, delivered more than 100 talks, answered thousands of letters, and wrote 20 quarterly reports for the U.S. Office of Education. Thus the "dissemination of results" has been underway for several years. One task remains: a report on what the project accomplished, how the accomplishments were achieved, and why the staff chose to do one thing rather than another. Such a report is important, because despite the investment of millions of dollars in curriculum development during the past 15 years, little is known about the sociology of curriculum development projects: Why a project is begun, how key actors relate to others, how decisions are made, what assumptions guide product development, etc. This report is addressed primarily to this problem. It contains an impressionistic, topical history of the project as seen by the director, moves to a treatment of its most important product, APB, by the two people who were most responsible for its development, describes the evaluation of APB by the one who assumed primary responsibility for its testing, and concludes with some "conclusions and recommendations" by the director. Hopefully, those who are interested in the sociology of education, the processes of educational change, and curriculum development will find the report interesting and helpful.

II. A TOPICAL HISTORY OF THE HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM CENTER IN GOVERNMENT

by Howard Mehlinger

The period 1956-1966 may be described by future historians as the "curriculum development decade" in American education. Beginning in the fields of science and mathematics with support from private foundations, a systematic effort was made to improve the quality of instruction in American schools by altering the instructional materials used to teach students. Soon other subject fields joined the curriculum reform effort. Special projects in foreign languages, English, and the social sciences appeared. As momentum and costs increased, financial support for curriculum development became too great for the private foundations and responsibility shifted to the National Science Foundation and the U.S. Office of Education.

The High School Curriculum Center in Government (HSCCG) at Indiana University was established at the close of the "curriculum development decade." In 1966, when HSCCG began work, the three major high school social science projects of the National Science Foundation -- the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project, the High School Geography Project, and the Sociological Resources for Secondary Schools Project -- had been in operation several years, and nearly all of the special projects launched under "Project Social Studies" of the Cooperative Research Branch of the U.S. Office of Education had been functioning for one or more years. Indeed, some of the projects were moving toward final publication when the HSCCG staff wrote its first instructional objective. When the Indiana University group completed its five-year project on June 30, 1971, it was probably the last USOE curriculum development project of its kind.

The fact that the High School Curriculum Center in Government arrived late on the scene had both advantages and disadvantages. The principal advantage was that members of the project staff were able to learn from the experiences of the other projects. Many false starts that had characterized earlier projects were easily avoided. Many ideological positions that had tripped others could be identified and leaped. On the other hand, the project staff did not gain the advantage of living during the "heroic period" of curriculum development, when curriculum materials seemed to be the single best answer to the problems besetting schools. By 1966 the agenda of national priorities in American education had begun to shift from concerns about the academic validity of curriculum content (expressed commonly through such phrases as "the structure of the discipline"), and the need to include scholars in efforts to improve school instruction to new concerns including the education of disadvantaged youth, problems of inner-city schools, the education of ethnic minorities. By 1966 the complaints of those critics of education who had argued that the content of instructional materials lacked academic rigor could no longer be heard against the clamor of urban riots, student walkouts, and demands for ethnic studies programs. By 1966 the curriculum development projects in social studies were beginning to receive criticism for not having changed the schools and for not being "relevant." Developers who were working consistently and steadily on objectives aimed at resolving criticisms of education from the late 1950's and early 1960's learned that the system had not stood still. Developers found they were directing their efforts at moving targets, as both the schools and the society at large were changing rapidly and in unpredictable ways.

All of this seems perfectly clear from the vantage point of 1971. But in 1966 the High School Curriculum Center in Government was very much a product of the "development decade"; its proposal for funds clearly reflects the assumptions of that decade. The following "objectives" and "procedures" appeared in the abstract of the initial proposal.

> a. Objectives. The aims of the proposed Curriculum Center in Social Studies at Indiana University are the following:
> (1) To identify broad topics and problems in political science, to examine these in depth through the use of relevant concepts and analytical tools, and to select and present topics suitable for study in junior and senior high school courses in civics and government;
> (2) To develop materials and teaching procedures which would incorporate the most recent findings in political science, psychology, and education;
> (3) To teach concepts which relate to the political system at the local, national, and international levels, and which enhance conceptual sophistication in dealing with political ideas to junior and senior high school students;
> (4) To familiarize high school students with the process of developing and testing hypotheses pertaining to the political world;
> (5) To enable students to handle questions of public policy in ethically and intellectually defensible ways;
> (6) To maximize the ability of high school students to understand the conditions under which political decisions are made;
> (7) To encourage university scholars in the social sciences to work with high school teachers in the development of a social studies curriculum;
> (8) To demonstrate new programs and instructional approaches, and to disseminate the most reliable findings to teachers, administrators, and other school personnel.

b. Procedures. The Center proposes to attain the foregoing objectives by using the following procedures:

(1) Establishing a work team composed of a Center Committee made up of political scientists and professional educators who will direct the investigation and serve as the primary resource persons, a full-time Principal Investigator, who will conduct the investigation, and key scholars from related fields and cooperating high school teachers who will serve as resource persons and consult with the staff on substantive and procedural matters;
(2) Obtaining basic ideas, concepts, and procedures to be developed from political scientists and cooperating scholars in related fields;
(3) Developing appropriate pamphlets, syllabi, case-studies, and books of readings for use in the classroom;
(4) Identifying promising teachers in the cooperating schools, and training them in the use of materials and instructional methods;
(5) Applying the concepts and generalizations relating to the political system in selected schools, and experimenting with teaching methods such as discovery, simulation, and case-study;
(6) Through the use of simulation of political systems and through role-playing to give the student the opportunity to participate in political decisions;
(7) Measuring student growth in knowledge and understanding of the political world, and comparing experimental and control groups by means of pre- and post-tests, self-evaluation, teacher records of daily activities, judgments of trained observers, etc.;
(8) Disseminating the most reliable and interesting findings through regional conferences, professional meetings, demonstration centers, and periodic reports in the professional literature.

The history of the High School Curriculum Center in Government is the story of how one group of people attempted to satisfy the terms of its contract and its proposal while remaining responsive to the changes underway within society and in the schools in particular.

Organization of the High School Curriculum Center in Government

The project was funded officially in March, 1966. This followed more than a year of negotiations with the U.S. Office of Education. The first draft of the proposal was submitted on September 1, 1964. In response to suggestions by the U.S. Office of Education, revised proposals were submitted on January 18 and August 11, 1965. Delays in funding and uncertainty about when the project might begin affected the staffing of the project. Therefore, when funding finally was authorized in March, 1966, a delay of nearly four months was required before the project could begin work.

The initial proposal had been sponsored by Mr. Shirley Engle, Professor of Education, and Mr. Byrum Carter, then Professor of Government, and today Chancellor of Indiana University. The proposal called for the establishment of an "executive committee," consisting of Mr. Engle as chairman and three additional members, Mr. Carter, Mr. William Siffin, then Associate Professor of Government, and Mr. Frederick Smith, then Associate Professor of Education.* The executive committee was to provide overall guidance for the project.**

The first problem faced by the executive committee was the recruitment of a "principal investigator."*** No one in the Government Department at Indiana University or in the School of Education wished to assume full-time responsibility for the project. Efforts to recruit either political scientists or specialists in social studies education from outside the University for the position of director were unsuccessful. In every case, their price seemed too high. Applicants understood that the project would not extend more than five years. For good reason they worried about their future at Indiana University following the completion of the project. The Government Department was unwilling to insure promotion and tenure on the basis of curriculum development and those who had published enough in social studies to attract the interest of the executive committee demanded appointment at a higher academic level than the School of Education believed justified. Few people believed in 1966 that many professional rewards accompanied the direction of a U.S. Office of Education curriculum development project.

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*In 1967 Mr. Carter resigned from the committee and was replaced by Mr. Alfred Diamant, Professor of Government.

**The first budget provided for partial salary support for members of the executive committee. In practice, Mr. Engle received one-fourth of his salary as chairman from 1966 through June 30, 1969; Mr. Siffin received one-half salary for two months during summer, 1966 and summer, 1967; and Mr. Smith received one-half salary for two months during summer, 1967; Mr. Carter received no salary support from the High School Curriculum Center in Government.

***The term "principal investigator" was used in the proposal. Later, through an agreement with Howard Mehlinger, the term "principal investigator" was changed to director. The person specified as "director" in the initial proposal, Mr. Shirley Engle, assumed the title chairman of the executive committee.

In May, 1966, the executive committee invited Howard Mehlinger to direct the project. Mehlinger had won no special recognition, either as political scientist or as a social studies educator. But he offered a number of advantages. First of all, he was not seeking a long-term appointment at Indiana University. In 1966 he was employed by Indiana University as Deputy Chairman of the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, a special project supported by the Ford Foundation and the Department of State to handle the academic exchanges of faculty and graduate students with the Soviet Union and countries of Eastern Europe. In addition, he held a part-time appointment as Assistant Professor of History. In 1966 he had a "soft-money" appointment at Indiana University and no promise of a long-term association with the University.

In addition to the advantages Mehlinger offered by his willingness to accept the directorship of the project and forego a regular academic appointment, his prior experience suggested that he was an acceptable risk. He had recently published a book of readings for high school students entitled Communism in Theory and Practice, and was completing the publication of a teacher's guide on teaching about totalitarianism for the National Council for the Social Studies. From 1963-1964 he had been co-director of the social studies project at Carnegie-Mellon University, the most visible USOE-funded social studies project at that time. And from 1964-1965 he had been the assistant director of the NCA Foreign Relations Project, a project that sought to stimulate interest in teaching about American foreign relations in secondary schools. Moreover, he had eleven years' experience as a high school teacher of world history and American government, and, while his Ph.D. was in Russian history, he was committed to the reform of social studies instruction in schools through the development of improved curriculum materials. In contrast to others who were contacted about directing the project, Mehlinger viewed the High School Curriculum Center in Government as an unusual and attractive opportunity and relieved all concerned by asserting his belief that his responsibilities should be limited to the directorship of the project and that he should not be asked to assume other academic responsibilities.

The next staff member to be employed was John Patrick. In 1966 John Patrick was a graduate student in the School of Education. He had been drawn to Indiana University in part by a promise from Shirley Engle that he would have an opportunity to participate in the High School Curriculum Center in Government, if and when it were funded. John Patrick had been a high school teacher in East Chicago and later at the University of Chicago Laboratory School. He wanted to become a professional curriculum developer and viewed the opportunity to join the Center staff as an opportunity to advance his professional career. During the first year of the project, Mr. Patrick was employed as a half-time research assistant; during the second year his status changed to that of a full-time research associate. Subsequently, upon the completion of his doctoral degree, he was promoted to associate director of the High School Curriculum Center in Government.

The third member of the initial staff was Mrs. Jane Lewis, secretary and administrative assistant. Not only was Mrs. Lewis the first secretary to be employed by the project, but she was the last, as she remained with the Center until its contract expired.

During the five-year period of the High School Curriculum Center in Government many people were employed by the project. Some worked on a part-time basis as writers; others were employed on a half-time basis as graduate assistants; still others were hired as technicians and clerk typists. But the bulk of the work and the responsibility for the project's success or failure depended primarily upon three individuals: Howard Mehlinger, the director, John Patrick, the associate director, and Jane Lewis, secretary and administrative assistant.

Staff Organization and Utilization

Those who wrote the proposal for the High School Curriculum Center in Government assumed that the executive committee would be engaged to a significant degree in planning and developing the project materials. The "principal investigator" was viewed as one to be charged with the responsibility for carrying out the executive committee's ideas.

This conceptualization of the principal investigator's role proved impractical. As members of the executive committee were not employed on a full-time basis by the project, other commitments interferred with their opportunity to concentrate upon project tasks. The committee met when the director of the project called them together, and they reacted to papers prepared for their consideration. Therefore, partly because the situation required it and partly because the director wanted freedom to act, initiative for the project passed by default to the director. He assumed responsibility for project management, for preparing budgets for the U.S. Office of Education, for writing quarterly reports, for representing the project at major conferences, for answering routine correspondence, etc.

In the beginning, the executive committee met frequently. The director would prepare an agenda for their meetings, identify the issues to be resolved, and encourage full discussion of the alternative choices. These sessions tended to be very fruitful, especially as it gave the staff an opportunity to test ideas they wished to follow. Major publications were given to the executive committee for reactions prior to their publication. In the latter years of the project, the executive committee met less frequently than in the beginning. Once the direction of the project was clear, there was less need for policy discussions. The staff knew its job and carried it out.

In 1968 Indiana University established a new organization called the Social Studies Development Center. The High School Curriculum Center in Government became identified as one of the projects of the Social Studies Development Center. The Social Studies Development Center had a policy committee to make overall policy for SSDC projects. Therefore, the last major issue that might have been settled by the executive committee of the High School Curriculum Center in Government, that of deciding upon a publisher for the APB program, was presented to the policy committee of the Social Studies Development Center instead. As two members of the High School Curriculum Center in Government executive committee, Mr. Shirley Engle and Mr. Frederick Smith were also members of the policy committee of the Social Studies Development Center, and as Howard Mehlinger was both director of the Social Studies Development Center and the High School Curriculum Center in Government, the change in policy leadership was not seen as significant by key people.

The role of Shirley Engle in the High School Curriculum Center in Government changed during the course of the project. From 1966 to 1969 he devoted considerable time and energy to project affairs as adviser, consultant, and supervisor and was budgeted one-fourth time to the project. In 1969 Mr. Engle reduced the amount of time he invested in project affairs and no longer received salary from the project. From 1969 to 1971 Mr. Engle maintained close contact with the project, participated in a number of meetings relating to the project's work, read project materials, consulted with the project staff on many occasions, and remained supportive and available for advice.

The relationship between Howard Mehlinger and John Patrick, director and associate director of the High School Curriculum Center in Government respectively, was primarily that of co-equal partners. Officially there was a status difference. Mehlinger was the director; Patrick began as a part-time graduate assistant, became a full-time research associate during the project's second year, and moved to associate director in subsequent years following the completion of his doctoral degree.

The practical consequences stemming from the status differences were that Mehlinger assumed overall responsibility for project management, made decisions about the expenditure of funds and the recrui[illegible] of staff, assumed responsibility for preparing project reports, etc. Patrick had comparatively few management responsibilities.

Mehlinger and Patrick were partners in the direction and design of the "American Political Behavior" course. Throughout the project they worked as a team to decide course content, to choose alternative ways of presenting materials, and to write instructional materials. They agreed upon a division of labor for writing specific units and lessons, they criticized each other's work, and they took turns at editing each other's writings for the experimental version. Some project publications were written primarily by a single individual with the other person acting as a critic. In such cases the individual's name appeared as the author of the publication. Examples are the first two occasional papers published and disseminated by the project, the first by John Patrick, the second by Howard Mehlinger. But the primary product of the Center, the course "American Political Behavior," was a joint effort by Mehlinger and Patrick.

From time to time other individuals were recruited to work as professional members of the HSCCG staff. Part-time assistants were hired from the Audio Visual Department of Indiana University to assume responsibility for the development of transparencies, 35 mm. slides and audio tapes. First, Eugene Michaels and later Russell Cassity worked as audio visual assistants. Each made important contributions to the development of the program. Mr. Michael Cabat, a graduate student in sociology, assisted the evaluation effort by taking charge of processing the data through the computer.

While the project was successful in employing technical assistance when needed, it had less success in finding additional developers. On several occasions the project recruited former high school teachers who had taught high school civics and government courses and who seemed interested in becoming curriculum developers. It was hoped that these people would become co-equal developers of instructional materials. Most efforts to recruit additional full-time developers were unsuccessful. However, there was a notable exception. During the last year of the project Mrs. Judith Gillespie was employed as a part-time research assistant. Mrs. Gillespie, who was completing her doctoral studies in political science at the University of Minnesota, was employed to develop simulations and games for the published version of the "American Political Behavior" course and to help design a twelfth-grade comparative politics course. Although she had had no prior experience as a developer of educational materials and no experience as a high school teacher, she became a very capable developer. In January, 1971, her status changed from a half-time to a full-time research associate in the Center

It is difficult to specify the qualities that are required to be a successful developer of instructional materials. Certainly a developer must understand his subject and be able to write clearly.

Among the personality characteristics that seem important are a willingness to work for long stretches by oneself and an ability to work for delayed rewards. Nevertheless, no formula was found that assured success in predicting who would become accomplished developers.

Utilization of Part-Time Writers and Consultants

The project also tried to use political scientists and educators as part-time writers and consultants, with mixed success. Initially the staff planned for some units to be developed by political scientists working on a part-time basis for the project. Mr. Fred Coombs, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois, was employed during one summer to develop the unit entitled "Unofficial Political Specialists." Other political scientists were employed to develop materials on Federal bureaucrats and on the Congressional role. A fourth political scientist was hired to develop a simulation for use at the end of a unit on voting behavior. Of the four, Mr. Coombs' contribution was the most significant. He successfully completed the development of his unit as assigned. While the style of his unit differed somewhat from other units, later modifications and editing brought his material into line. The published version of Unit V, "Unofficial Political Specialists," is based substantially upon Mr. Coombs' early work.

The other political scientists were less successful. Small portions of their work was used, but much additional labor was required before their materials were deemed suitable for pilot trials.

It is difficult to work with writers when they are not based at the project. If the staff takes time to describe in detail the kinds of materials they want, it is almost as easy to develop materials themselves. On the other hand, without detailed specifications, the political scientists were left to their own resources. Lacking full understanding of the intent of the project, they had to imagine what was needed. Secondly, some had little or no experience as high school teachers and were unable to imagine how one might construct a lesson for a secondary school student.

Political scientists were more helpful as content validators. In particular the role of Mr. Leroy Rieselbach should be noted. Mr. Rieselbach teaches graduate courses on political behavior at Indiana University. His interest and knowledge were linked closely to the content of the "American Political Behavior" program. He frequently met with the project staff, read materials produced by the project, criticized the materials, and pointed out shortcomings. In addition to these roles, Mr. Rieselbach prepared a paper to help teachers understand the behavioral approach to politics. This paper was an outgrowth of a course he offered during a summer institute in 1968 for the 40 pilot teachers. Other political scientists read and reacted to specific lessons from the course. This proved to be an excellent way to use people who were expert in the discipline of political science.

On a few occasions graduate and undergraduate students were employed as part-time writers for the project. They were assigned specific case studies for which they were to do research and provide an initial draft of the case. The project staff used their drafts as the bases for publishable case studies. Five case studies were produced in this way.

In addition specialists in social studies education were used as consultants and as critic readers for the project. Mr. Fred Smith and Mr. Gerald Marker were especially helpful in this way.

Some Guiding Principles

Some assumptions made in 1966 remained constant throughout the five-year life of the project. These assumptions led to decisions which had a profound impact upon the direction of the project. Other decisions, perhaps based upon other assumptions, would have produced an entirely different product and a different set of activities. Therefore, it is important to examine what some of these assumptions and decisions were.

First of all, it was assumed that the overriding purpose of the High School Curriculum Center in Government was to stimulate a reform in civics and government instruction in high schools. Key individuals who launched the Center, most notably Shirley Engle and Byrum Carter, had been engaged in efforts to influence civics instruction for many years. Thus, in 1966 there was substantial concern, interest, and experience at Indiana University in civics instruction. The Center became the instrument some at Indiana University had been seeking to conduct a national reform in civic education.

Second, the leaders behind the Center assumed that better instruction was closely related to better instructional materials. Prior to the Center some at Indiana had conducted studies of traditional civics and government textbooks. Their studies, supported and supplemented by others, printed up a number of inadequacies. (See Chapter III for a brief review of these studies and their implications for decisions relating to the development of APB.)

Thirdly, the Center was directed at curriculum reform in the high school grades. Despite claims about the efficacy of early political learning, it was assumed that political learning did not cease at grade eight and that important gains could be made in the political knowledge, attitudes, and skills of high school youth through formal instruction.

The staff focused its energies on two grade levels in the high school curriculum where political science-related courses are offered typically. At the ninth grade, approximately 500,000 students enroll each year in a course called Civics; and at the twelfth grade approximately three-quarters of a million American youth study a one or two-semester course in American Government. Rather than inventing a new course sequence, or trying to "infiltrate" courses in World History, American History, Economics, etc., the staff elected to develop alternatives to existing courses in ninth-grade civics and twelfth-grade American government, on the assumption that successful alternatives to these two programs would receive a friendly reception in the schools.

HSCCG Created "Alternative" Programs

The project staff conceived its role to be the creators of "alternative" programs for existing civics and government courses. The staff was influenced by what it perceived as a curious circle existing in civics and government instruction. Often teachers criticize their textbooks as being bland and uninteresting. When these findings were communicated to a selected group of publishers, some responded that they too were dissatisfied with the civics and government textbooks that they published, but that they produced the kinds of books the schools would buy. Until it could be shown that schools would purchase and employ new approaches to civics and government, the publishers had to produce for the existing market.

The High School Curriculum Center in Government imagined its role to be the inventor of alternatives to traditional civics and government programs. Since private industry was unable to foster the development of alternative approaches to civics and government, the Center used the government grant as "risk capital" to create a readiness for new and different approaches to the study of politics and government and to develop some alternative materials that could be used by schools seeking new ways to teach civics and government.

The project staff believed that if it could produce a program that was judged by political scientists to be valid and to faithfully represent the discipline, that was judged by social studies educators, curriculum directors, school administrators, and civics and government teachers as reflecting the kinds of goals that ought to be a part of civics and government instruction in the schools, and if it could demonstrate that the course could be taught successfully so that most students would achieve the course objectives and that most teachers and students found the course more interesting than materials currently on the market, the project would have achieved all that could be expected. If it created a genuine alternative to existing courses in civics and government, if it created a climate of readiness for consideration of alternative programs in civics and government, if it successfully diffused information about alternatives throughout the nation, its goals would be met and the public's funds well spent.

To achieve these overall purposes, the High School Curriculum Center in Government moved on several fronts. The most important effort was the development of an alternative to civics and American government courses. (This program, entitled "American Political Behavior" (APB), is discussed at length in Sections III and IV of this report.) In addition to the development of APB, the project staff acted in other ways to influence civics and government instruction. It produced a series of "occasional papers" on the teaching of political science, which were widely disseminated to the education community. Members of the Center staff spoke often to meetings of teachers and political scientists in all sections of the nation. Between 1966 and 1971, Mehlinger gave more than 100 talks about efforts to improve civics and government instruction. At conventions of the National Council for the Social Studies, the American Political Science Association, at NDEA Institutes, at Robert A. Taft Institutes, at state conventions, both in political science and in social studies, Mehlinger and Patrick argued for the need to alter civics and government instruction. In addition, both Mehlinger and Patrick wrote articles for a number of journals about the need for reform in civics and government instruction.

Additional ways to influence educators were undertaken. For example, Mehlinger became a consultant to the National Committee for the Assessment of Progress in Education, an advisor to the College Boards Examination Committee, a reviewer of standardized American government exams, and a member of the Pre-Collegiate Committee of the American Political Science Association. In the latter role he was successful in helping stimulate the American Political Science Association to undertake new efforts relating to the improvement of school instruction in civics and government. Thus, in a self conscious and direct way, the High School Curriculum Center in Government staff sought to stimulate interest in and mobilize efforts toward reform of civics and government instruction.

Courses not Units

The staff concentrated its energies on the development of a total course, rather than the preparation of units or resource materials.

This decision was based upon a number of assumptions about schools, teachers, and the function of new instructional materials in schools. It was assumed that while some schools were changing patterns of staff utilization, for the near future most civics and American government instruction would occur in classes of 30 or more students directed by a single teacher. It was assumed that most school libraries had few if any worthwhile books on political science for supplementary reading and that most teachers had little or no money to purchase supplementary materials. Therefore, the decision was to provide a program complete in itself and within a cost-range that schools could afford.

It was assumed that typical high school American government or civics teachers had little special training in political science. The typical teacher was conceived as one who had nine or less hours of formal college instruction in American Government and little opportunity to become familiar with recent approaches to the study of political science while a student. The staff assumed that the typical teacher teaches five classes a day and has extra-curricular responsibilities, has little time for reading and for preparing each day's lesson, would find much of the APB content unfamiliar, and would welcome suggestions regarding methods and techniques for teaching the new political science content.

The staff made no effort to "teacher proof" the course. If such an intention were ever taken seriously, it was quickly dispelled. Any poor teacher is capable of destroying the integrity of a lesson and some good teachers taught APB lessons better than had been imagined possible by the developers. Whenever materials reach students through the intervention of teachers, the teacher remains a critical element in instruction. He is the only one who can schedule and pace the activities; he must decide whether learning has occurred and whether re-teaching is necessary; he must help students apply classroom instruction to specific current political happenings in the society. No developer can assume these responsibilities. Nevertheless, improved civics instruction depends upon improved instructional materials. The developer's role is necessary but not sufficient.

Effect of Limited Funding on Project Staff

The level of funding and the type of staff the project employed undoubtedly had consequences for its work. Neither Howard Mehlinger nor John Patrick were political scientists. Mehlinger had acquired some training in political science while working toward his Ph.D., but nothing in his formal course work had prepared him for the direction of a political science education project. While John Patrick was an experienced teacher of political science in the schools and had some formal training in political science, he did not consider himself to be a political scientist by training. When the project began, the question arose: "Who should determine what the program will be?" One solution might have been to form a panel of political scientists to design the program and to ask Mehlinger and Patrick to put it into practice. Some social studies development projects had used scholars in similar ways. Mehlinger and Patrick avoided this solution. They chose to use the initial months of the grant to prepare themselves in political science. Through reading and talking to political scientists, they designed and conceptualized the program themselves.

This procedure offered a number of advantages. First of all it won their total commitment to the project. Whatever was produced was their work. They were not carrying out someone else's design. Neither Mehlinger nor Patrick felt any particular responsibility to prepare a program that pleased political scientists only. Rather they saw their responsibility to design a program that was appropriate for any high school youth preparing for a citizenship role in society. The fact that political science content was emphasized merely reflected the project view that many of the skills and perceptions of political scientists were appropriate for all citizens.

The Development Schedule: Dreams and Reality

The proposal to the U.S. Office of Education promised that the High School Curriculum Center in Government would develop materials that could be used in courses in civics and government. While the "American Political Behavior" course satisfied the contractual commitment, it fell short of the aspirations of the project team.

The initial proposal discussed an interest in reaching both twelfth-grade and ninth-grade students. The staff hoped that during the five-year period it would be able to develop a total ninth-grade program and a complete twelfth-grade program as two separable alternatives for teaching civics and government. Only one alternative program was completed. "American Political Behavior" was designed originally as an alternative for ninth-grade civics courses, and a majority of the test classes were ninth-grade civics courses. Later, APB was used in twelfth-grade American government courses as well. The published version of APB is being marketed as a "high school" program, unspecified to grade level.

Initially, the staff hoped to develop a second program on American and comparative political systems specifically for use at the twelfth-grade. No student materials were developed for this program, although a working paper providing a partial conceptualization of that program was completed. While the staff failed to develop the second alternative, it seems likely that this program will be undertaken in the future by other sources of funding.

In April, 1967 the staff agreed to the following work schedule.* It makes clear just how ambitious the initial aspirations were.

Schedule I

I. April-September, 1967

   A. Pending an agreement by the Executive Committee on the guidelines for the ninth-grade civics course, the staff will prepare materials to be used in the ninth-grade course.

   B. Staff will prepare a proposal for an NDEA Title XI Civics Institute to be submitted May 26 and complete negotiations with the U.S. Office of Education for funds for fiscal, 1968.

II. September, 1967-January, 1968

   A. Continue work on the ninth-grade civics materials both for students and supporting materials for teachers.

   B. Establish arrangements with cooperating schools for tryout of materials.

   C. Pending the funding of a Title XI Civics Institute Proposal, begin the selection of teachers and preparation for the institute.

   D. Pending agreement on guidelines for the twelfth-grade course, begin preliminary efforts to write materials for the twelfth-grade government course.

   E. Hold a conference in December for high school teachers of civics and their administrators in Bloomington.

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*Howard Mehlinger. High School Curriculum Center in Government: Working Paper. April 7, 1967, pp. 46-48.

III. February-June, 1968

  A. Continue work on the civics materials.

  B. Continue writing for the twelfth-grade government course.

  C. Complete arrangements for civics institute to be held summer, 1968.

IV. June-August, 1968

  A. Continue writing materials for the twelfth-grade course in government. Hopefully, the civics materials will be ready for the first run by this time.

  B. Conduct an eight-week institute for 30 ninth-grade teachers of civics.

V. September, 1968-June, 1969

  A. Initial tryout of ninth-grade course in the cooperating schools.

  B. Complete writing of twelfth-grade course.

  C. Begin revisions of ninth-grade civics course as revisions prove necessary from the testing.

VI. Summer, 1969

Conduct an NDEA Title XI Institute for twelfth-grade teachers of American government drawn from cooperating schools.

VII. September, 1969-June, 1970

  A. Second round of testing on the ninth-grade course and full evaluation.

  B. Initial tryout of twelfth-grade materials.

  C. Begin revisions of the twelfth-grade materials.

  D. Final revision of the ninth-grade course.

VIII. Summer, 1970

   A. Complete final revisions of ninth-grade course. Submit these materials to the Office of Education.

   B. Complete revision of twelfth-grade course.

IX. September, 1970-June 30, 1971

   A. Second tryout of twelfth-grade materials and full evaluation.

   B. Final revisions for the twelfth-grade course. Submit these materials to the Office of Education.

   C. Prepare a final report for the Office of Education.

The above schedule proved to be wholly unrealistic. Much more time was required to write and test "American Political Behavior" than was originally anticipated. The following schedule describes the actual chronology of project activities.

Schedule II

Significant Events in the Actual Working Schedule of the High School Curriculum Center in Government

Year I (July 1, 1966-June 30, 1967)

1. The Center was established. Staff was unable to move into its offices until late August.

2. Staff spent much time reading recent books on political science and meeting with political scientists to become informed about current trends in political science.

3. Staff surveyed existing products for teaching high school civics and government courses.

4. John Patrick surveyed existing research on political socialization and prepared a paper entitled *Political Socialization of American Youth: A Review of Research with Implications for Secondary School Social Studies*. This paper, originally developed for use of staff in helping make judgments about selection of content, was disseminated widely to educators in schools and colleges.

5. Howard Mehlinger developed a "working paper" for limited circulation that summarized project assumptions, projected a development plan, and provided an outline for the ninth-grade program.

6. In late spring the first student materials were written by project staff.

Year II (July 1, 1967-June 30, 1968)

1. Most of the staff time was used to develop instructional materials for the APB course, in accordance with an agreed-upon outline. By the end of the year, the staff had completed sufficient material to provide for at least nine weeks of instruction. Pieces of later units of work had also been prepared.

2. Segments of the APB course were tested with a small number of students in the Bloomington schools for early feedback purposes.

3. A proposal was funded by USOE to train 40 civics teachers in a summer institute. These would be the first pilot teachers.

4. Howard Mehlinger wrote a position paper entitled The Study of American Political Behavior that was disseminated to educators in schools and colleges.

5. Staff began to disseminate information about the Center through articles and talks to educators.

Year III (July 1, 1968-June 30, 1969)

1. First field test of the APB course complete with formative evaluation. One class was taught in Bloomington by the staff.

2. Much staff time was spent on finishing the first version of APB, often staying only a few weeks ahead of the pilot teachers' need for materials.

3. Staff designed and tested formative evaluation instruments and spent much time in the field visiting pilot classes.

4. Leroy Rieselbach wrote a paper for teachers entitled The Behavioral Approach to the Study of Politics: An Overview, which was given wide dissemination.

5. At the close of this year the staff began to analyze the formative evaluation data and to revise APB for the second trial.

6. Staff produced four video tapes on APB to use for in-service training purposes.

Year IV (July 1, 1969-June 30, 1970)

1. Much time was spent on revising the APB materials for the second trial and summative evaluation.

2. John Patrick designed, tested, and administered three scales used in the summative evaluation of APB.

3. The project conducted five, three-day civics dissemination conferences in various parts of the nation at which a total of 300 educators learned about APB and witnessed demonstrations of the materials.

4. Staff visited pilot classes in all parts of the nation.

5. Project accepted bids for the commercial publication of APB and accepted the bid from Ginn and Company. Contract was signed to publish APB under an exclusive five-year copyright to be held by Indiana University in accordance with USOE guidelines.

Year V (July 1, 1970-June 30, 1971)

1. Most of this period was used to prepare a final version of APB for commercial publication by Ginn and Company.

2. Two staff members worked on a conceptualization of a proposed twelfth-grade course on American and comparative political systems. They prepared a paper entitled *Politics and Participation: An Alternative Approach to the Study of Politics and Government in Senior High Schools* that was disseminated on a limited basis.

3. Howard Mehlinger spent some time disseminating information about APB to teacher conferences in various parts of the nation.

4. John Patrick wrote an article summarizing data on the summative evaluation of APB.

The discrepancy between the projected work schedule and the one that was actually followed stemmed from naiveté on the part of the developers regarding how much time would be required to develop the "American Political Behavior" course, the time required in 1968 and 1969 for visits to pilot schools gathering data on the pilot trials of the course, the time required to adequately disseminate information about the American Political Behavior program, and the difficulty in continuing the development of the American Political Behavior program while simultaneously attempting the design and development of the proposed twelfth-grade program. All of these factors combined to force the abandonment of the unrealistic working schedule established in April, 1967.

While Table II is useful for presenting an overview of the development activities during the five-year period, it contains little of what was actually learned by the staff regarding the development process. Therefore, in the pages that follow some of what was learned is reported. It may have special interest for other developers.

Sequencing Research-Based Development Activities

Research-based development makes demands upon developers that surpass those ordinarily expected of textbook authors. The instructional materials prepared by the High School Curriculum Center in Government were developed according to a series of stages, with dissemination occurring at each stage. These stages were:

A. Design and conceptualization
B. Development of instructional materials according to design
C. Testing of segments of pilot versions of the program
D. Redesign and redevelopment based upon trials of early versions
E. Formative evaluation of a complete pilot version
F. Redevelopment on basis of formative evaluation
G. Summative evaluation of final version of program
H. Preparation of commercial version for publishers and final report

The paragraphs that follow contain some observations about each of these stages.

A. Design and Conceptualization. Approximately nine months were required to design and conceptualize the American Political Behavior program. It is difficult to see how that time could have been reduced. Neither John Patrick nor Howard Mehlinger were familiar with the literature on American political behavior. Much time was required for becoming informed about current developments in political science. And, in order to avoid replicating work underway elsewhere, it was important to study existing civics and government programs, to talk to teachers, curriculum directors, and political scientists, and to examine the work of other projects.

When the time arrived to design and conceptualize the comparative politics program, both Patrick and Mehlinger were fully occupied with developing and testing APB. An effort was made to employ political scientists to design the comparative politics program, and later other Center staff members worked on the design. By late spring, 1971, a paper setting forth a partial conceptualization of the comparative politics program was finished. But this occurred too late in the life of the project to be of great use.

The moral seems to be that developers themselves must participate in the overall course design. If they do not have adequate time to give undivided attention to course design, it is probably wasteful of time and money to assign the task to others who do not have to assume responsibility for the development of materials.

B. Development of Instructional Materials according to Design.

The staff had planned to devote no more than one year to the development of the two-semester program in American Political Behavior. It expected that when the pilot teachers arrived in June, 1968 for the summer institute, it would be able to show them a fully developed course.

The time required to develop adequate instructional materials was much greater than had been imagined. In part this was a result of the decision to produce original materials rather than books of readings. Of course, some tables, charts, graphs, and documents were taken from other published materials. However, at least 90 percent of the "American Political Behavior" Program consisted of fresh materials. Thus, the pace of development at the High School Curriculum Center in Government was much slower than that of projects which depended upon the use of readings and whose writing was limited to the preparation of introductions to the readings. When the APB developers wanted a case study, they researched the case and wrote it themselves. They did not look for published cases.*

When teachers arrived for the summer institute in 1968, the staff had produced enough instructional material to support less than one semester's study. As a result, the staff continued to develop materials throughout the summer institute and through the following fall and winter. At times the developers were no more than two or three weeks ahead of the teachers throughout the initial pilot year. The last of the materials was sent to the pilot teachers in March, 1969. In part, the slow production of materials resulted from the need to visit schools and to tend to data produced by the formative evaluation procedures.

The level of project funding required inexpensive production of pilot materials. All print materials were produced by mimeograph process; the A-V component consisted of a few 35 mm. slides and transparencies. None of the pilot materials could have passed commercial-ready tests. Nevertheless, they were adequate for field trials. It is not necessary to use expensive production processes for formative evaluation.

C. Testing of Segments of Pilot Versions of the Program and Redesign and Redevelopment Based upon Trials of Early Version of Materials. Throughout the 1967-68 school year, individual pieces of the APB program were tested in Bloomington schools. The primary purpose of these trials was to test reading level and student interest in certain types of materials. Class trials were ordinarily limited to one or two days of instruction at any one time, although one trial period lasted for an entire week. Data derived from these trials provided information needed for deciding how long a reading should be, and how to organize case studies in order to attract student interest. The developers were able also to test assumptions about the "entry behavior" of ninth-grade students with regards to basic political science skills.

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*This decision resulted in part from a stubborn determination by the staff that they would not fall heir to the criticism directed against other projects, often unjustified, that the special social studies projects had been parasitic. Some critics argued that the special projects depended upon the work of others, which they organized in a special way and published, claiming the product as their own. The APB developers decided that they would produce a product that was entirely their own.

The staff had little difficulty in securing entry to classrooms to test the materials. The Bloomington teachers contacted to assist in the programs were, without exception, helpful and interested in the work.

D. Formative Evaluation of Complete Pilot Version. A description of the formative evaluation of the "American Political Behavior" program is provided in Section IV of this report. Nonetheless a few comments about the formative evaluation are appropriate at this stage.

Formative evaluation may be more important to developers than summative evaluation, which is considered to be of paramount importance for consumers. Formative evaluation informs the developer whether he is achieving his objectives or not.

In summer, 1968, the Center conducted a seven-week NDEA institute in civics for 40 high school civics and American government teachers. The purpose of the institute was to train 40 teachers who would teach experimentally the course, "American Political Behavior," during 1968-1969. The Center did not have funds in its regular budget to provide a training program for the teachers. Rather, it was necessary to secure additional funding through the Summer Institute Program supported by the U.S. Office of Education. The proposal to the Office of Education was submitted through the Indiana University Political Science Department. Mehlinger was the Director of the summer institute and Mr. Gerald Marker, Coordinator for School Social Studies at Indiana University, was the Associate Director.

The institute had two major components. One component provided information for the teachers about the content of "American Political Behavior." This component took the form of a course offered by Mr. Leroy Rieselbach, Professor of Political Science and a specialist in American political behavior. Unless the teachers fully understood the behavioral approach to the study of politics the staff feared that the pilot teachers would be poor critics of the course.

A second institute component was a course on the teaching approach contained in the "American Political Behavior" program. APB was organized around a particular approach to sequencing content and skills. Moreover, the project utilized theories of "mastery learning" in its testing program. Unless teachers were familiar with the assumptions that supported the teaching method of the program, the staff thought that the teachers would be poor evaluators of the instructional materials. One part of the summer institute was a demonstration class of ninth-grade students using the pilot materials under the direction of project staff. By closed-circuit television and in-class observation, the pilot teachers observed the ninth-grade students being taught the experimental version of the course.

Selection for participation in the summer institute was dependent upon teacher and school agreement that the participant would become a pilot teacher. Approximately 600 teachers expressed interest in attending the summer institute. When the inquirers learned that participation in the institute required that the teacher pilot a new civics course and that their schools would have to bear the cost of reproducing sufficient quantities of student materials to support instruction in their schools, the number of institute applicants was reduced to about 125 people. The staff selected the 40 participants on the basis of the types of schools they represented, and the region of the country in which their schools were located. The staff was eager to have schools from all regions of the country and was eager to have schools from metropolitan areas as well as small town and rural districts. Some teachers taught in schools where a high proportion of students attended college upon graduation; others taught in schools that served disadvantaged students. The result was a mixture of teachers representing a broad range of student populations. This caused problems of instruction in the summer institute and ultimately led to problems in the piloting of the political behavior program. Nevertheless, the wide range of teacher ability and background ensured a degree of reality in the development of the "American Political Behavior"program that might not have been possible had other criteria been used in the selection of participants. The selection criteria made certain that APB would be tested by "typical" teachers rather than by those few teachers who have had graduate training in political science.

Nearly all of the teachers continued as pilot teachers throughout the 1968-1969 academic year. Two teachers asked to drop the program at mid-year, and one teacher resigned his position at school and dropped out of the program. Those who continued with the program throughout the entire year had unequal success. But in each case, their successes and their failures contributed significantly to efforts to improve the APB program.

E. Redevelopment on the Basis of Formative Evaluation. Revisions in the pilot version of the course began while the first version was still being taught. Some obvious weaknesses were clear on the basis of instruction by the developers; other flaws were discovered by talking to pilot teachers and students; still other changes were undertaken after the analysis of data.

F. Summative Evaluation of Final Version of Program. As the summative evaluation is treated extensively in Section IV of this report, only one comment will be made at this point. A summative evaluation is intended to provide data on the final version of the program. This assumes a development and try-out cycle that concludes with a final product. In reality a good program is constantly under development. The summative evaluation of APB was an evaluation of the revised program tested in the schools during 1969-1970. This summative evaluation, while producing generally favorable results, indicated additional work was needed. Therefore, in preparing the product for the publisher throughout 1970-1971, additional development work occurred. The most dramatic addition to the course were two simulations and two games that were not part of the summative evaluation reported in this report. In the opinion of the staff these additions and other modifications made in the program will add to the successful classroom use of the published version of APB, which was not complete at the time the project finished its work and, therefore, could not be evaluated. Fortunately, it appears likely that Ginn and Company will support such an evaluation during the 1972-1973 academic year.

It is important for the reader to know, however, that the summative evaluation of project materials inevitably comes too early for the developer. He would prefer to use summative results as if they were products of a formative evaluation and continue the process of reformulation and improvement for an indefinite time.

G. Preparation of Commercial Version for Publishers and Final Report. The project maintained open communications with textbook publishers throughout its entire existence. Editors from publishing companies often called on the project staff to learn about progress, and project publications were sent to those publishers that requested information. It was common for publishers to seek out project staff at professional meetings to secure up-to-date information about the project's work.

In June, 1969, the project held a meeting with the 40 pilot teachers who had taught APB during the preceding academic year. In addition, invitations to attend the meeting were sent to all of the major high school textbook publishers. Approximately 12 publishers sent one or more representatives to the conference. There, they received detailed information about the project and learned directly from pilot teachers how the materials had worked with their students. Without exception, the publishers seemed to appreciate this opportunity to learn about a project at an early stage in its development.

In spring, 1970, the project secured permission from the U.S. Office of Education to seek bids for the publication of the "American Political Behavior" program. Four publishers presented formal bids.

These were: Ginn and Company, Prentice-Hall, Allyn and Bacon, and Addison-Wesley. Other publishers indicated they might be prepared to publish the course at a later time, when the program would fit better their publication schedules. However, the project staff considered only the bids from the four publishing companies specified above.

In May, the Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University announced that Ginn and Company had been selected as the publisher for "American Political Behavior." The period from June 1, 1970 to June 30, 1971 was used primarily for preparation of the published version of the APB program. In the development of the published version with Ginn, the project staff worked primarily with Mr. John Neal, social studies editor for Ginn and Company, Mr. John Bremer, the principal book editor for APB, and Miss Linda Scher, assistant editor. The Ginn and Company staff has fulfilled, without exception, all the hopes and expectations the project staff had for the published version of APB.

H. Dissemination. The project staff undertook dissemination activities from the very beginning of the project. It responded to inquiries about the project's work through both personal and form letters as required. In addition, it published four "occasional papers" which provided readers with detailed information about current activities of the Center. Members of the project staff spoke at local, state, and national meetings of political scientists and social studies teachers. It cooperated with reviewers of curriculum materials and authors who were writing reports on new materials in the social studies.

Dissemination of APB was enhanced by an EPDA grant from USOE. In 1969 and 1970 the project conducted six, three-day Civics Dissemination Institutes at separate locations throughout the United States. A total of 300 participants attended the six institutes. The participants were selected on the basis of their positions and their opportunity to further disseminate information about "American Political Behavior." Participants included high school principals, assistant superintendents of schools, curriculum directors, social studies specialists, and journalists who write on education affairs. The purpose of the institutes was to provide a clear and valid description of "American Political Behavior." In general it appears that the institutes were successful in disseminating information about the APB program.

It is important to note that efforts to disseminate APB are continuing throughout 1971-1972. Ginn and Company agreed to provide support for Miss Carole Hahn, a doctoral student at Indiana University, who serves as a demonstration teacher and diffusion agent for the APB program.

In Conclusion

It is apparent that the project staff had an unrealistic view regarding how rapidly products can be produced with research-based development procedures. Perhaps, had they known the range of competencies that would be demanded of a small staff -- e.g., writer, editor, disseminator, evaluator -- they might not have begun the project with so much confidence.

On the other hand, the results of the project exceeded their expectations. In the beginning the project attracted little notice. Few expected that a small, largely inexperienced staff, untrained in modern approaches to political science, would succeed in developing a program which would capture the interest of both school officials and professional political scientists. The staff wanted to develop an "alternative" to civics. They recognized that the development of a true alternative posed many risks: Political scientists might attack it for being unsound in its scholarship; schools might reject the alternative as being too different from what is traditionally taught. The fact that APB appears to be a "successful" alternative suggests that one of the underlying assumptions of this project -- that the grant should be used as risk capital -- proved to be valid.

III. AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

by Howard D. Mehlinger and
John J. Patrick

"American Political Behavior" (APB) is a two-semester program designed as an alternative to high school courses in civics and government. APB was created in response to certain perceived weaknesses in existing civics programs that the developers believed could be remedied by the development of improved instructional materials.

The Need for Reform of Civics Courses

Early in its work the Center staff concluded that a major defect in civics courses was the inadequate content of standard civics instruction. Studies of widely used instructional materials had revealed an enormous gap between the subject matter of civics courses and knowledge about politics produced by social scientists during the past two decades. An explosive development of knowledge and techniques of inquiry had marked the work of social scientists interested in political phenomena. Yet most high school students continued to study about politics as their parents did. Thus, the picture of politics and government presented in secondary school classrooms bore little resemblance to the world of the politician or of the political scientist.

Civics courses were devoid of the perspectives of modern political science. They tended to stress legalistic descriptions of governmental institutions and ethical prescriptions about political behavior. Political processes were described as some people would wish them to be rather than as they are, thereby confusing factual and value judgments. The socio-cultural foundations of political behavior, the extra-legal factors that influence public policy decisions and the functioning of government, were ignored. Value conflicts and processes of conflict resolution -- the controversies, competitions, and compromises that are basic to political activity -- were largely omitted or treated superficially.

In the opinion of the Center staff, there had been inadequate attention in civic education to developing critical thinking skills and inquiry skills. Students were urged to be critical thinkers and probing inquirers, but the standard textbooks provided meager instruction about how to think critically and to establish warrants for propositions about political behavior. Widely used textbooks, while exhorting students to make rational political decisions, appeared to be fostering a mind-deadening "read-regurgitate" pedagogical style. End-of-chapter questions and suggested activities that appeared in standard textbooks emphasized rote learning of discrete facts about governmental institutions. In addition, some textbooks urged students to engage in sublime normative discussion while neglecting to prepare them to cope successfully with the rigors of value analysis.

Formal instruction in civics and government seemed to have little impact upon learners. Civic educators aimed at teaching democratic political beliefs and knowledge of governmental structures and political affairs. But numerous studies demonstrated the impotence of formal civics instruction to impart knowledge or influence beliefs. For example, a study by Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings, of a national probability sample of twelfth-graders, found only minuscule changes in political attitudes and sophistication as a result of formal civics instruction. The National Assessment in Citizenship Education, conducted by the Education Commission of the States, is the most recent of several nation-wide surveys which have documented the ignorance of Americans about the structure and functions of government and the strategies of effective political activity.

The picture of political life that was conveyed through standard instructional materials seemed like a poorly constructed map. Like a poor map, which may lead a traveler astray, the picture of political life projected via widely used texts misled students who used it as a guide to the political world.

Goals and Objectives of "American Political Behavior"

The major goals and objectives of "American Political Behavior" arose in response to the perceived defects of civics instruction discussed above. The goals indicate the decisions made by the developers. The most important of APB goals are:

1. increasing students' capability to meaningfully perceive politically relevant experiences;
2. developing students' capability to organize and interpret information;
3. developing students' ability to determine the grounds for confirmation or rejection of propositions about politics;
4. developing students' capability to formulate and use concepts, descriptions, and explanations about political behavior;
5. developing students' ability to rationally consider value claims and to make reasoned value judgments;
6. influencing students to value scientific approaches to the verification of factul claims and rational analysis of value claims.

7. increasing students' capability to assess the likely costs and rewards of particular types of political activities;

8. reinforcing students' commitment to democratic political beliefs such as respect for the rights of individuals, support for majority-rule practices, acceptance of civic responsibility, etc.

In support of overriding instructional goals, such as those stated above, specific instructional objectives were devised for each lesson. These instructional objectives indicate what the learner is able to do as a result of instruction. They indicate the kind of instruction necessary to provide learners with capabilities specified in the objectives.

Following are six examples of precise instructional objectives for different lessons in the "American Political Behavior" course.

1. Students are able to construct a contingency table from raw data.

2. Students are able to state empirically testable hypotheses.

3. Students can infer from data on pages 000-000 that individuals with higher socioeconomic status tend to be more active in political affairs than individuals with lower socioeconomic status.

4. Students can combine the following variables to construct explanations for the voter turnout rate of different types of people: a) sense of civic duty; b) political interest; c) concern with election outcome; and d) sense of political efficacy.

5. Students can distinguish factual judgments from value judgments in The Pleasant Valley Case.

6. Students can make evaluations of the political behavior of the major participants in The Pleasant Valley Case. They are able to explain, by reference to their own values, why they made these evaluations.

These instructional objectives are pointed and detailed. They leave little doubt about what students are expected to do to indicate that they have acquired a particular ability, to indicate that mastery learning has occurred. Instructional objectives are provided with each lesson plan in the "Teacher's Guide to American Political Behavior." Teachers are able to know precisely the purposes of every lesson and how to teach to accomplish them.

At the end of instructional sequences, roughly every two to three weeks, teachers are instructed to administer an examination designed to measure attainment of the instructional objectives most recently taught. The examination items reflect the instructional objectives; they are criterion measures of the objectives. Successful performance on the examination suggests mastery of the instructional objectives reflected by the exam.

The instructional objectives of "American Political Behavior" indicate that instruction is aimed at teaching particular knowledge, skills, and thought processes. Notice that the examples of instructional objectives presented above refer to several different skills of inquiry and critical thinking and to various thinking processes such as memory, comprehension, interpretation, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. The complete set of instructional objectives, stated in the "Teacher's Guide to American Political Behavior" are indicators of subject matter, lesson sequencing, and instructional techniques.

Selection and Organization of Subject Matter

The subject matter of the "American Political Behavior" course was selected and organized to overcome basic inadequacies in the content of typical civics courses, to narrow the knowledge gap and conceptual lag that have severely afflicted secondary school civics instruction. In "American Political Behavior," the relationships of social factors to political behavior are emphasized. Students are required to study the political process in terms of several basic social science concepts, such as political culture, political socialization, social class, status, and role. The relationships among these concepts are stressed, so that students learn how to construct and apply conceptual frameworks to the organization and interpretation of information. Controversial topics, such as the political aspects of race relations or the relationship of social class to political behavior, permeate the course. However, these topics are included as subjects for analysis, not as exercises in iconoclasm.

Following are the five major units of instruction which comprise the "American Political Behavior" course.

1. Introduction to the Study of Political Behavior. In this unit students are introduced to the meaning of political behavior, to the social science approach to the study of politics, and to the process of making value judgments and policy decisions about political affairs.

2. Similarities and Differences in Political Behavior. In this unit students learn about the relationship of social factors to political attitudes and political behavior.

Basic concepts are introduced such as role socioeconomic status, culture, socialization, and personality. This unit includes material about the political behavior of ethnic groups.

3. Elections and Voting Behavior. This unit focuses on the relationship of various social and psychological factors to voting behavior. Other topics are the formal and informal rules that direct the election process in our society, the differences between the major political parties, and the consequences of voting behavior.

4. Political Decision-Makers. In this unit students learn about the political roles of four types of public officials in the national government: the President, congressmen, bureaucrats, and judges. The rights and duties of each role, type, the recruitment of individuals to the role, and the decision-making activities of the role occupant are emphasized.

5. Unofficial Political Specialists. In this unit students learn about individuals who influence public policy decisions, but who do not hold formal positions in the government. Four types of unofficial political leaders are studied: the interest group leader, the news commentator, the expert-consultant, and the political party leader.

A textbook, packages of worksheets, packets of transparencies, two packets, each containing a simulation, and a board game package are the vehicles for presenting the subject matter. The textbook is packaged in two ways: 1) as a single hardcover text, for those wishing to use the entire course, and 2) as two paperbacks, for those wishing to use either the first half or the second half of the course. The first paperback text includes Units One, Two, and Three. The second paperback text includes Units Four and Five.

The textbook is not typical. The book is permeated with exercises and problems. Thus, after reading a few pages of the text, students are required to use what they have read to complete an exercise or solve a problem. Numerous cases are presented to illustrate various aspects of political behavior and to provide raw material for analysis.

The worksheet packages -- one to accompany each half of the course -- consist of a series of ditto masters from which class sets of materials can be made. The worksheet lessons involve the generation and management of data. Exercises in table reading, table building, graph reading, and graph construction are presented via worksheets. Through the worksheets, survey research activities are presented and structured.

Several lessons in the course are built around the use of transparencies. Some of these lessons are concerned with the generation, organization, and interpretation of data. Others are for the purpose of raising questions, provoking speculation, or prompting insights.

Two simulations are provided. One, entitled City Hall, requires students to play roles of voters, candidates, and campaigners in a city election. The second, Influence, requires students to play the roles of public officials concerned with particular policy questions and community influentials who desire to influence public policy decisions.

The course includes two board games. Bottleneck is about the legislative process, the means by which a bill becomes a law. The Ninth Justice concerns the recruitment of associate justices to the U.S. Supreme Court and the impact of decisions of the Court on society.

Instructional Techniques

The lessons in the "American Political Behavior" course have been planned to prepare students to apply skills, ideas, and information. Over and over again students must demonstrate ability to use particular ideas, skills, and information to complete an exercise or solve a problem. Teaching strategies are planned to develop skills of critical thinking and inquiry.

Different instructional techniques and types of lessons are employed in the course. The instructional objectives for a particular lesson, or set of lessons, are guides to lesson design and teaching strategy. Different types of instruction are employed to achieve different types of instructional objectives. For example, the use of a written instructional program, which provides precise step-by-step direction, is a very efficient way to teach a skill such as how to read contingency tables. In contrast, student role playing and interaction within the context of a systematically designed simulation activity provides an appropriate way to develop ability to devise fruitful political strategies.

Lesson sequencing and teacher strategies of "American Political Behavior" are organized to help students develop and test their own hypotheses and to critically judge the hypotheses of others. Each new topic is introduced through an activity that requires students to speculate freely and then to formulate hypotheses about the topic. Next, students are required to reassess and modify hypotheses in the light of additional information and new ways of organizing information. The next step involves student applications of modified ideas to new situations. Students complete the study of a topic with a lesson that requires them to make value judgments about the topic. Students are called upon continually to classify and interpret information in terms of the social science concepts that structure the course. Case studies are used extensively as the basis for student analysis of political behavior. In addition, students are required to engage in simulation, games, role playing, and political attitude survey activities.

Four basic categories of instruction are used in the course. They are labeled: 1) confrontation, 2) rule-example, 3) application, and 4) value judgment. Each category of instruction has been devised for different purposes and requires different instructional techniques. The following diagram indicates the differences between the four categories.

Categories of Instruction

I. Confrontation	A. Focus attention B. Motivate C. Generate speculations and/or hypotheses
II. Rule-Example	A. Systematic development of ideas and/or skills B. Hypothesis testing
III. Application	A. Require use of ideas, information, and skills presented previously B. Provide clues about the extent to which instructional objectives have been attained
IV. Value Judgment-Policy Decision	A. Relate evaluational questions to an empirical context B. Require reasoned value judgment

Confrontation lessons initiate study of a particular topic such as participation in public elections. The role of the teacher is to conduct open-ended discussion. The teacher is supposed to provoke students to respond to stimuli presented in the lesson and to provide cues to sustain discussion. The teacher is to refrain from judging student responses, since the point of this type of lesson is to generate speculation, to raise questions, and to provoke inquiry. When teaching a confrontation lesson, the teacher is primarily a discussion manager, rather than a giver of answers or a judger of student responses.

In-class attitude surveys, case studies, student reaction to pictures of symbols, and provocative questions and contrasting points of view are among the kinds of lessons employed in the confrontation category of instruction. For example, four brief cases are used to initiate student consideration of the following two questions: 1) What is political behavior? and 2) Why do people behave politically? In another part of the course contrasting arguments about the meaning of loyalty and patriotism are used to provoke student consideration of questions about the origins and consequences of political beliefs about patriotism and the right to dissent. In another part of the course, the confrontation lesson consists of soliciting student speculation about the relative tendencies of different groups to participate in public elections. A set of transparencies, conveying pictorial representations of different social groups, is used to stimulate student reaction.

Rule-example lessons provide the bases for systematic consideration of a topic initiated through the confrontation lessons. The teacher role in the rule-example category of instruction is to assist student mastery of particular skills, ideas, and information. The teacher is expected to help students make judgments about their responses to questions and exercises.

Teacher demonstrations, programmed instructional materials, written exposition enriched with examples and exercises, and data processing and analysis activities are among the kinds of lessons employed in the rule-example category of instruction. For example, an instructional program is used to teach students how to construct contingency tables. In another part of the course, written exposition enriched with examples and exercises is used to teach the meanings of aspects of political behavior such as issue, influence, political resources, and policy decisions. In this lesson rules, or criteria, for determining instances or non-instances of issue, influence, political resource, and policy decision are specified. Examples of instances and non-instances of each of these terms are presented. And then students are required to use these terms to classify fresh information. In other parts of the course, the rule-example lesson requires students to infer generalizations, or rules, from statistical data. For example, a particular lesson about voter behavior requires students to infer propositions relating voter choices and several social variables from statistical evidence.

The application category of instruction involves student use of information, ideas, and skills in a novel situation. Through application lessons students are provided an opportunity to indicate mastery of instructional objectives. Students who demonstrate mastery of application lessons provide evidence of particular capabilities. If these capabilities were not present prior to instruction, then one can assume that mastery of application lessons demonstrates learning. Inability to master application lessons indicates deficiency in terms of particular instructional objectives. Careful appraisal of inadequate student performance may provide clues about student incapacity that can be overcome through remedial instruction.

The teacher role during the application stage of instruction is to help students assess the extent of their learning, to help students to determine whether they have attained particular instructional objectives. Teachers should give special attention to students who cannot demonstrate mastery.

Case study analysis, classification exercises, data processing and interpreting problems, simulation activities, and games are types of application lessons. For example, throughout the course students are required to apply conceptual frameworks to the analysis of case studies of political behavior. In a certain part of the course, students are required to apply knowledge of voter behavior and public elections to the successful performance of roles in a simulation activity. Another application lesson requires students to process data and make inferences from the data about variations in sense of political efficacy.

The value judgment category of instruction provides an opportunity to relate particular descriptions and explanations to value judgments. Through these lessons, students have the chance to relate their studies of what is, and what has been, to consideration of questions about what ought to be.

The teacher role is to conduct open-ended discussions, to provoke student responses, and to influence students to engage in rational consideration of value claims. Rational consideration of value claims means assessing consequences of particular value judgments and determining consistency between preferred means and valued ends.

Through lessons requiring value judgments and policy decisions students are taught to distinguish factual judgments from value judgments. They are also taught that fruitful value judgments depend upon competent factual judgments, that reasoned value judgments stem from careful consideration of what is and what might be.

In the "American Political Behavior" course students are required to make value judgments about the outcomes of case studies of political behavior. They are required to make value judgments and policy decisions when playing roles in simulation activities. They are required to make value judgments about alternative political strategies and techniques, about alternative political beliefs, and about alternative policies.

Mastery Learning

APB seeks to help teachers utilize some basic principles of mastery learning.[*] The objectives for each day's lesson are clearly indicated in the teacher's guide. In addition teachers are informed about ways to determine whether objectives for each day's lesson are achieved by students.

At the end of each instructional sequence, usually ten to fifteen days of instruction, students are given tests that measure achievement of the objectives specified in the lessons recently taught. If students have mastered each day's objectives, they should be able to "master" the test. A "mastery level" is defined for each test. An example of mastery would be answering correctly 16 of 20 multiple choice examination questions.

For students who fail to achieve mastery on the first exam (Form A), the teacher has been provided a "back-up test" (Form B) that enables students to demonstrate that they have finally achieved mastery following a review of the first test and further learning.

Typically, a teacher would assign the unit test for a particular day. All students take the test during the first 20 minutes of class; the tests are graded quickly; and the results are given to the students. Those who failed to achieve mastery are given an opportunity to have their mistakes corrected and explained. The teacher suggests sections of the textbook to be reviewed. After all students have had an opportunity to identify the particular topics on which further learning is required, the teacher schedules the back-up test. All those students who failed to achieve mastery on the first test are required to take the back-up exam; those who achieved mastery may take the additional test if they wish. The teacher records the highest score made between the two exams.

The effect of this principle of instruction has been to increase motivation on the part of students. They believe that the tests, while often difficult, are fair and adequate measures of the objectives. Students learn that if they work hard in the course they are able to succeed.

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[*] The project's views about mastery learning were influenced by the writings of Benjamin Bloom. See, for example, Chapter 3 "Learning for Mastery" in Benjamin S. Bloom, J. Thomas Hastings, and George F. Madaus. *Handbook on Formative and Summative Evaluation of Student Learning*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971.

Publication of APB

The version of APB published by Ginn and Company in January, 1972, rests upon two earlier versions of the course that had undergone intensive, year-long field tests with a total of nearly 10,000 students and more than 100 teachers. The final version has profited from the pilot trials in many ways. There has been a conscious effort to reduce the reading level of the course materials; the materials include two simulations and two games that were not part of the experimental version; additional case study material has been added; and the transparency and worksheet components have been improved markedly.

Ginn and Company is publishing APB under an exclusive copyright with Indiana University until December 31, 1977, whereupon the materials become part of public domain.

IV. FORMATIVE AND SUMMATIVE EVALUATION OF AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

by John J. Patrick

Introduction

Product evaluation presents a number of serious problems to curriculum developers, some that are not resolved by typical evaluation techniques. Scriven's argument that developers consider "formative" and "summative" evaluation stages helps to clarify these problems and offers suggestions to deal with them.* This section of the final report describes the attempt to conduct "formative" and "summative" evaluation of "American Political Behavior," some of the consequences of this effort, and a few of the pitfalls that were encountered.

"Formative evaluation" refers to those practices that produce data enabling developers to improve their products during the development stage. "Summative evaluation" refers to an over-all final evaluation of the product with the purpose to produce information deemed useful to ultimate consumers. While these two stages intersect and even overlap at points, it seems useful for analytical purposes to think of course evaluation as passing sequentially through these two stages. The "product" under evaluation was the two-semester, experimental, high school social science course entitled "American Political Behavior."

The formative evaluation of "American Political Behavior" occurred mainly during 1968-1969, when forty-one pilot teachers, including the course developers, piloted the first draft of the program. On the basis of critical feedback from pilot teachers, students, political scientists, educationists, and politicians, the course was revised in preparation for a second field trial during the 1969-1970 school year. The primary purpose of the first field trial (1968-1969) was to identify defects in an early version of a new course, so that these deficiencies might be remedied. The primary purpose of the second field trial (1969-1970), which constituted the "summative evaluation," was to determine the extent to which "American Political Behavior" might have an impact on student acquisition of certain facts, ideas, skills, and attitudes.

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*Michael Scriven. "The Methodology of Evaluation." In Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation. AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1967, pp. 39-83.

This report of evaluation procedures is offered not as a model for others to follow but as a description of how evaluation actually occurred with all of its weaknesses and problems. It is offered in the belief that for better systems of evaluation to develop, it is important to record authentic examples. It is also important that the reader know that the level of project funding in this example was adequate to support a small, professional and clerical staff but not sufficient to employ professional evaluators. Therefore, the evaluation to be described was conducted by the project directors, the authors of this report, and fully non-accredited amateur evaluators.

Formative Evaluation

As noted above, formative evaluation refers to those practices that produce data enabling developers to improve their products during the development stage. The following practices were undertaken in an effort to modify and to improve the course "American Political Behavior": pre- and post-testing of student political attitudes; objective testing of student mastery of performance objectives; open-ended teacher questionnaires;criticism of the course by a panel of outside readers; a meeting at the end of the first year with pilot teachers; teaching of one class by course developers; site visits to pilot classes with interviews of pilot teachers, students, and school administrators.

Questions which guided the formative evaluation were:

1. Can the course "American Political Behavior" be used successfully in the environments provided by typical schools?

2. Are there any particular types of students for whom the course seems inappropriate?

3. Can students master the course content?

4. Does the course represent valid political science knowledge and method?

5. Does the course affect students' political attitudes, values, and beliefs in socially desirable ways?

6. Do teachers and students like the course?

7. What types of lessons are most likely to succeed and which are most likely to fail?

In the paragraphs that follow, each technique of the formative evaluation is described; reference will be made to questions the technique sought to answer; changes stimulated by the technique will be cited; and difficulties connected with each technique will be indicated.

Tests of Mastery Learning

The "American Political Behavior" course is constructed to facilitate mastery learning, the attainment of performance objectives by the majority of students in a particular group. A performance objective is a statement that indicates exactly what a student is able to do as a result of instruction.*

Performance objectives are provided with each daily lesson plan in the teacher's guide. Teachers know precisely the purposes of the lesson and can teach to accomplish them. An important element of the instructional strategy is to provide numerous application lessons that enable students to apply knowledge and skills acquired in preceding lessons.

At the end of each instructional sequence, on the average of every two weeks, the teachers administered a multiple-choice type examination designed to measure the performance objectives of the material most recently taught. Each item was designed to be a valid measure of one of the objectives. Therefore, theoretically, success on the item represented successful mastery of the objective and the material related to it.

The tests of mastery learning were designed to reveal strengths and weaknesses in the instructional materials. For example, if most students responded correctly to a set of test items pertaining to a performance objective, the developers assumed that the instructional materials constructed in terms of this performance objective were communicating successfully to students. If most students responded incorrectly to a set of test items pertaining to a performance objective, the developers assumed that either the pertinent instructional materials or the test items were flawed and in need of revision. In most instances, a pattern of incorrect student response across different student groups indicated inadequacy of the instructional material and prompted the redesign of particular parts of the course.

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*Robert M. Gagne. "Curriculum Research and the Promotion of Learning." In Perspectives for Curriculum Evaluation. AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1967, p. 21.

It was hoped that the gathering of objective test data from all of the students would be the most powerful and efficient technique for formative evaluation. While it was helpful on several occasions, it was not worth the time, money, and energy given to it. The system was theoretically simple and seemed efficient. However, teachers failed to return tests promptly; some tests were lost; teachers frequently did not check to make certain that answers were recorded in correct places; and students failed to code their tests properly. The result was a gigantic snarl. Special assistants were hired to try to eliminate some errors by program. The result was an enormous headache and great strain on a limited budget. Probably, the staff could have accomplished as much by simply asking teachers to record class scores on individual test items. This simple information might have provided better data than was used ultimately.

Teacher Questionnaire

At the end of each instructional sequence, approximately ten days, pilot teachers were asked to complete a questionnaire provided them. Each two- to three-page questionnaire asked teachers specific questions about individual lessons. It also provided an opportunity for each teacher to comment at length about the course.

The questionnaires frequently were the source of useful tips. The developers found ideas for the way lessons might be restructured. When the questionnaires revealed that most teachers were having a similar difficulty with a particular segment of the course, it was concluded that this portion of the instructional materials probably needed revision.

Panel of Outside Readers

Two types of readers were used: political science scholars who are specialists in political behavior and specialists in social studies education. The former were used to provide validation of political science content and method in the course; the latter checked on pedagogical strategies, sequencing of lessons, etc.

Outside readers were used at two different stages. Early drafts of units were sent to readers when the developers were treating concepts that presented special problems for them. When the pilot version of the course was completed, the entire course was read by one political scientist and one social studies specialist who wrote extensive critiques of the material.

The assistance of outside readers was simple to arrange, relatively cheap, and produced excellent results. Ideas for presenting the material were acquired, and some material was entirely rewritten on the basis of the outside assessments. For example, a section on the influence of personality on political behavior was judged particularly weak and was rewritten to bring it into line with current scholarly views.

End-Of-Year Meeting

In June, 1969, the staff met approximately one-half of the pilot teachers at a three-day meeting in Bloomington. The purpose of the meeting was to de-brief the teachers on the basis of their experience teaching the "American Political Behavior" course during the 1968-1969 academic year. All of these teachers had been trained in a seven-week institute during summer, 1968 prior to teaching the course. The purpose of the summer institute had been less to train them to teach the course than to train them to be critics of the course. In short, they had been trained to become partners in formative evaluation.

At the June meeting, discussion ranged over all elements of the course. The sessions were tape-recorded in order that specific sessions might be replayed if necessary. The session proved to be very valuable, not because it turned up new problems that had not been recognized earlier, but it tended to confirm the conclusions reached by other evaluation techniques. It was particularly useful to have many teachers present to discuss the course, however, because the complaint of a single teacher often turned out to be less serious than originally believed when it was played out among all the teachers present.

Teachers were particularly warm in their praise of case studies, slide-tape lessons, and the few simulation-games the developers had provided. Enthusiasm by teachers for the lesson plans strengthened the resolve to keep them.

Developers' Class

Probably the most useful and simple formative evaluation practice is for developers to teach students who are using the experimental course. The staff gained the permission of local school authorities to establish one section of ninth-graders in a local high school who were their responsibility throughout the school year. By teaching the course, the developers became instantly aware of serious problems that could be repaired immediately, without awaiting feedback from other teachers. They were able to make judgments about the readability of the material, pacing, sequencing, etc. When students seemed to lose interest in the course, the authors were the first to know and were under direct pressure to do something about it.

The principal drawback the developers found in teaching their own class was the drain on energy and time. When they were meeting students, they were unable to travel to observe pilot teachers. And they had less time to write. Therefore, this type of evaluation is expensive but probably worth the cost.

Site Visits

The staff visited 30 of the 40 pilot teachers during the first year. When one adds the time required to travel, it is apparent that nearly one-third of the 180-day school year was spent in the field visiting the pilot schools. The site visits were demanding. They included talks to principals, teachers, and the pilot students. Frequently, the developers were asked to meet other administrators and to speak to the social studies faculty.

Despite the high cost in travel money, time lost, and energy expended, site visits are absolutely essential to the developer. The best way to learn how a course is being taught in a typical classroom is to visit one. Rarely was the course taught exactly as it had been conceived; occasionally it turned out much better than had been imagined; often it was far worse. The principal was usually an excellent informant regarding how the course was perceived by the community at large. The students often provided data leading to conclusions that deviated from those derived from test data. It was clear, for example, that students frequently had learned more from the course than test scores had indicated. It was learned that in the effort to measure "higher levels" in the Bloom taxonomy, some of the items had become so complex that they were missed because students could not make sense of the test questions. Oral questioning of the students tended to increase confidence in the course and decrease confidence in some of the objective test items.

However, site visits tended to support over-all impressions of test data. Where the course was being used with students of low scholastic attainment with limited reading ability, the course was failing. Not surprisingly the course had the greatest success among the highly gifted, academically-inclined students. On the other hand, the course was not only a course for academically able youngsters. It was being mastered by typical ninth-grade youngsters who were reading at eighth- or ninth-grade reading level.

Test of Political Attitudes

American schools offer courses in civics and government not only because they wish to impart political information, but they also hope to influence students to hold "positive" political values. It is unlikely that any civics course would be accepted by the schools that undermined the attainment by students of socially prescribed "fundamental, American political values." While "American Political Behavior," unlike typical civics and government courses, makes no attempt to preach these values, it certainly intends to support them.

As the developers were anxious primarily to learn of any "negative" impact the course might have on student political attitudes during the formative evaluation stage, they administered a political attitude instrument as a pre- and post-test to all students taking the pilot course. This political attitude instrument consisted of six sets of Likert-scaled items designed to measure political tolerance, sense of political efficacy, political interest, political trust, support of majority rule practices, and support of political pluralism. This political attitude instrument was used to provide a rough indication of whether or not the course might have a "negative" impact on political attitudes of students. As a whole, the student performance on the political attitude instrument indicated a very slight movement in a "positive" direction on each set of items except the political interest set. Here students showed a very slight decline in political interest. However, as a result of this part of the formative evaluation, it was not necessary to revise massively the course for the purpose of reinforcing or creating support for basic democratic political ideas.

Summative Evaluation

The purpose of summative evaluation is to provide educational decision-makers with evidence about the worth of an educational product, in this instance the "American Political Behavior" course. Before deciding to adopt a course of study, school teachers and administrators should know how the new course performs in terms of particular criteria and how the new course compares with similar products. In order to provide evidence about the worth of a course of study, an evaluator at least must: 1) construct instruments to measure changes in students' performance in terms of particular instructional objectives; and 2) administer these evaluational instruments to student groups who have and who have not experienced the experimental instructional materials.

The Study Design

The 1969-1970 field trial of "American Political Behavior" was designed to yield findings about some basic concerns of the course developers. For example, "American Political Behavior" is supposed to teach facts and ideas about politics that have not been part of typical social studies curricula. What is the impact of the experimental course on student political knowledge? "American Political Behavior" is designed to teach students particular skills of critical thinking and inquiry. Does the experimental course contribute substantially to student skill development? Some critics have suggested that civics courses which purport to "tell it like it is" are likely to erode belief in American political ideas and to create alienation and cynicism. Others have speculated that courses like "American Political Behavior" are likely to strengthen certain political attitudes. What is the impact of the experimental course on student political attitudes such as political tolerance, political cynicism, and sense of political efficacy?

Following is a formal statement of the three questions which were basic to this study:

1. What is the significance and degree of relationship between experiencing "American Political Behavior" and acquiring particular political knowledge?

2. What is the significance and degree of relationship between experiencing "American Political Behavior" and acquiring particular skills of critical thinking and inquiry?

3. What is the significance and degree of the relationship between experiencing "American Political Behavior" and acquiring particular political attitudes?

A Political Knowledge Test, a Political Science Skills Test, and six political attitude scales were developed to measure student performance in terms of instructional objectives of the "American Political Behavior" course. Evaluation done with these three instruments provides grounds for hypotheses about the significance and degree of relationship between experiencing the "American Political Behavior" course and acquiring particular knowledge, skills, and attitudes.

The knowledge, skills, and attitude measures were administered, in the latter part of May, 1970, to secondary school students in experimental and control groups in nine communities.* The nine communities in this study are located in various parts of the country.* Community A is the suburb of a small industrial city in southern Michigan; Community B is located on the outskirts of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Community C is a small city containing a major university in the San Francisco Bay area; Community D is a small city containing a major university in Oregon; Community E is part of the greater metropolitan area of Kansas City, Missouri; Community F is a small city in northern Illinois; Community G is a middle-sized city in northern Indiana; Community H is a city in Maryland; and Community I is a small city in Virginia that is located on the fringes of Washington, D. C.

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*In six of the nine cases, the instruments were administered by associates of the High School Curriculum Center in Government. In the remaining three cases, the instruments were administered by teachers in their respective schools.

In eight of the nine communities classes of students in the same school were designated randomly as experimental and control groups.** The control groups experienced a variety of other social studies courses, e.g., civics, state history, American government, and American history. Students were assigned to the experimental and control groups through the usual administrative procedures associated with non-elective courses. Students did not elect to be assigned to the experimental or control classes, and students were not especially selected to membership in expermental or control classes. In each community the experimental and control groups revealed similar socioeconomic characteristics through responses to a personal data questionnaire.*

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*The schools which participated in this study were selected from a pool of fifty school systems which had volunteered to use the experimental version of "American Political Behavior" during 1969-1970. The schools in this study satisfied the needs to obtain a wide geographical distribution of schools, to obtain a mixture of types of teachers, and to obtain experimental groups of students who had not been specially selected, or who had not elected, to enroll in the "American Political Behavior" course.

**In Community A, the five ninth-grade classes of one junior high school were selected as the experimental classes and the five ninth-grade classes of the other junior high school were designated as control classes. In the other communities, students in experimental and control classes attended the same school. The limitation of this manner of assigning students to experimental and control classes is deviation from the standard for true randomization, as one cannot claim that every individual in the study had exactly the same chance as every other individual to be assigned to an experimental or control group. A consequence of this method of assignment is that a preponderance of superior students could possibly, if inadvertently and improbably, have been assigned to the experimental group.

The objective of introducing an independent, or treatment, variable, such as the "American Political Behavior" course, is to influence a dependent variable, such as performance on the Political Knowledge Test and Political Science Skills Test. A significant and potentially strong degree of relationship between the independent and dependent variables is indicated by the difference in the mean test scores of experimental and control group students. The greater the difference between the mean scores, the greater the presumed influence of the treatment variable, the "American Political Behavior" course, on the dependent variable, the test performances of students. Conversely an insignificant and/or weak degree of relationship between the independent and dependent variables is indicated by a slight difference in the mean test scores of experimental and control group students.

A primary limitation in this study is that students were not assigned to experimental or control groups in a truly random manner. There was a rough random quality to the assignment of students to groups, since this assignment was made in terms of the usual administrative procedures in each school. Students did not elect to take the experimental program, and special groups of students were not selected to take the "American Political Behavior" course. However, it cannot be maintained that every student involved in this study had exactly the same chance as every other student to be a member of either a control or experimental group. This limitation suggests that experimental groups might have been bolstered by membership of some students who are superior to those in the control groups. However, responses to a personal data questionnaire indicate that the experimental and control groups were comparable.

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*Respondents were asked to identify age, sex, race, religious preference, educational attainment of father, occupation of father, political party preference, and ethnic identity. Respondents were asked to rank themselves in academic ability in terms of a scale provided in the questionnaire. Fifty-five per cent of the students in this study came from homes where the father is a college graduate. Fifty-three per cent of the respondents ranked themselves above-average in academic ability. Most of the rest of the respondents ranked themselves as average in academic ability. Over 95 per cent of the respondents were white in racial identity and only 12 per cent expressed identification with an ethnic subculture. Thirty-five per cent of the respondents came from homes where the father was employed in a professional or business executive occupation; 33 per cent had "white collar" fathers; and 28 per cent had "blue collar" fathers.

A second limitation is that experimental group teachers volunteered to teach the "American Political Behavior" course. Perhaps they are extraordinary teachers, who are highly motivated, aggressive, and dynamic. Perhaps they tried hard to do a good job of teaching. Perhaps less motivated teachers would achieve lesser results with the "American Political Behavior" course.

Finally, this study _is_ _not_ a direct comparison of control groups and experimental groups in competition to achieve the same objectives. The social studies courses, which the control groups experienced, were certainly not designed to achieve the same knowledge and skills objectives as the "American Political Behavior" course, which the experimental groups experienced. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot indicate directly that the experimental course is superior, or inferior, to the courses experienced by the control groups. Rather, the findings can only indicate what experimental and control group students have, or have not, learned as measured by the knowledge, skills, and attitude tests used in this study.

Student Performance on the Political Knowledge Test

The Political Knowledge Test was designed to measure student recall of particular generalizations and information and student ability to apply certain main ideas about political behavior to the interpretation of case examples. The total number of points that can be achieved on this test is fifty-five* Since "American

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*To build the Political Knowledge Test, a pool of items was constructed to fit instructional objectives. A panel of political scientists and social studies educators was asked to judge the items to certify content validity. And the instrument was administered in a pilot test to students who had not experienced either the "American Political Behavior" course or a similar course. Item analysis of these pilot test data yielded the instrument used to this study. In order to validly use the Political Knowledge Test comparatively, to measure relative performance

Political Behavior" was designed to teach knowledge that has not been included in typical social studies courses, experimental group students were expected to perform markedly better than their control group peers. Failures of the experimental group students to perform very much better than the control group students could indicate either that the experimental course was designed inadequately or that the political knowledge objectives of "American Political Behavior" can be attained without taking the course.

As anticipated, students in the experimental groups in each of the nine communities performed markedly better than the control groups on the Political Knowledge Test. As shown in Table 1, there is a small difference among the mean scores of the nine experimental groups. In contrast, there is a great difference between the mean scores of the experimental and control groups in each of the nine communities. In each case the difference between the mean scores of experimental and control groups is statistically significant at the .001 level.* This significant difference in mean scores indicates that membership in an experimental group or control group was related positively to performance on the Political Knowledge Test.

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of groups who have and who have not experienced the "American Political Behavior" course, items were written that do not contain jargon peculiar to the new course. Students who have not experienced the new course should not find it more difficult than students who have experienced the course to read the test items. As the test is free of special terminology, it is more likely to yield real differences in knowledge between different groups of students. The reliability of this test is revealed in the high reliability coefficients yielded by the Kuder-Richardson test of reliability. The median reliability coefficient derived from respondents in nine pairs of experimental and control groups is .80.

*The F ratios produced by analysis of variance of scores on the Political Knowledge Test of each pair of experimental and control groups are: Community A = 235.26; Community B = 266.02; Community C = 332.15; Community D = 19.78; Community E = 35.44; Community F = 71.30; Community G = 119.11; Community H = 19.47; Community I = 32.11. Each of these F ratios indicates a significant difference in mean scores between experimental and control groups at the .001 level of significance.

TABLE 1

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS ON THE POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE TEST

Community	Grade Level	Experimental Group Mean Scores	Control Group Mean Scores	Correlation Ratio (E^2)
A	9th	38.07 (N107)	23.93 (N123)	.50
B	9th	35.84 (N117)	17.91 (N120)	.53
C	8th	38.34 (N82)	15.97 (N38)	.73
D	12th	35.81 (N21)	25.43 (N23)	.34
E	9th	38.30 (N20)	24.61 (N28)	.43
F	9th	39.52 (N23)	23.94 (N35)	.56
G	9th, 12th*	38.80 (N61)	26.25 (N48)	.52
H	12th	35.40 (N25)	26.95 (N22)	.31
I	9th	33.05 (N19)	19.29 (N21)	.46

*The experimental group in this high school consisted of ninth-graders, and the control group consisted of twelfth-graders.

In each case the degree, or strength, of relationship between group membership and test performance was substantial, as indicated in Table 1 by the correlation ratios.* Each correlation ratio (E^2) indicates the proportion of variance in the scores on the Political Knowledge Test that was due to the presumed influence of the treatment variable, the "American Political Behavior" course. For example, analysis of the Community A data yields an E^2 of .50, which indicates that 50 per cent of variation of the Political Knowledge Test scores of respondents in this community was accounted for by the differences in instruction and course content of the experimental and control groups. Analysis of the Community B data yields an E^2 of .53 which tells us that 53 per cent of the variance of the dependent variable, the test scores, was attributable to the influence of the independent variable, the "American Political Behavior" course. The substantial correlation ratios exhibited in Table 1, which range from .31 to .73, suggest that the treatment variable, the "American Political Behavior" course, had a pronounced impact on the "political knowledge" of experimental group students.

The impressive similarity of mean scores of several experimental groups in different schools in different parts of the country contributes to the argument that the "American Political Behavior" course affected student political knowledge. The great differences in mean scores of experimental and control groups in nine different communities and the substantial correlation ratios generated by these differences also contributes considerably to the case for the efficacy of the "American Political Behavior" course. Irrespective of differences in teachers, in school conditions, and region of the country, experimental groups performed vastly better on the Political Knowledge Test than control group students. (See Table 1.)

Analysis of the relationship of certain social characteristics to test performance of the experimental and control groups contributes to the argument that the "American Political Behavior" course affected performance on the Political Knowledge Test. The relationships of the following variables to performance of experimental and control groups were analyzed: sex identity, academic ability (self-ranked), educational attainment of father and occupation of father.* These variables were not related significantly to test performance, and they contributed very little or nothing to the attempt to account for variation in test performance between experimental and control groups. The "American Political Behavior" course alone accounted to a large extent for the difference in test performance between experimental and control groups in each of the nine communities. On the basis of this analysis of the relationship of certain social variables to student group membership and test performance, one can hypothesize that the treatment variable was a causal factor.

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*See the following for discussion of the derivation and use of the correlation ratio, E^2: Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960, pp. 266-267; Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1964, pp. 200-206.

An additional argument in support of the efficacy of the APB course is that there was no significant difference in the test performance of the experimental group students of "prepared" and "unprepared" teachers. "Prepared" teachers are those who attended a special seven-week institute in civic education in the summer of 1968. These "prepared" teachers were given special instruction in the teaching of APB. They participated in the revision of a prior version of the experimental course through serving as pilot teachers of the course during the 1968-1969 school year. The "unprepared" teachers had no special instruction in the teaching of APB prior to serving as experimental group teachers. They taught the experimental course for the first time during the 1969-1970 school year. "Prepared" teachers used APB in Communities A, B, C, and G. "Unprepared" teachers used the course in Communities D, E, F, H, and I. As shown in Table 1, the students of "unprepared" teachers performed about as well as the students of "prepared" teachers.

Analysis of responses to particular items of the Political Knowledge Test reveals something of the substance and extent of the political knowledge and/or political ignorance of experimental and control group students across the nine communities.** For example, control group students were relatively ignorant of certain aspects of the behavior of voters, the recruitment of political leaders, the relationships of socioeconomic status to political behavior, the conflict and compromise inherent in the political process, and the role behavior of Congressmen.

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*Two-way analysis of variance was employed to test the alternative hypotheses associated with the possibility that one or more variables, in combination with the "American Political Behavior" course, accounted for a significant amount of the variation in test scores on the Political Knowledge Test.

**The percentages reported in this section are based on the total number of experimental and control group students in the nine communities represented in this study.

Most control group students were ignorant of the following tendency propositions about American voters that have been substantiated through research about the behavior of voters during the past thirty years: 1) individuals of upper socioeconomic status are more likely than individuals of lower socioeconomic status to vote in elections of public officials; 2) individuals of the 35-40 age group are more likely than individuals of the 21-30 age group to vote in elections of public officials; 3) individuals who hold professional, business management, or white collar occupations are more likely than manual workers to prefer the Republican party. Moreover, only 28.8 per cent of the control group students responded "false" to this statement: "In recent Presidential elections, over 80 per cent of eligible voters have voted on election day." In contrast, 74.1 per cent of the experimental group students marked the "false" response. Only 46 per cent of the control group students responded "false" to this statement: "Most Americans decide for whom to vote at the conclusion of an election campaign, after carefully studying all the issues." In contrast, 83.5 per cent of the experimental group students responded with a "false" answer.

Control group students were relatively naive about recruitment to political leadership positions; they were much less likely than experimental group students to reveal knowledge of the inequality in political occupational opportunity that afflicts certain groups in our society. For example, only 35.6 per cent of control group students responded "false" to this statement: "Non-white individuals have the same chance to become United States Senators as white individuals." In contrast, 69.4 per cent of the experimental group students rejected this statement. Only 49.5 per cent of control group students replied "false" to this statement: "Any person born in the United States has the same chance as any other person to become President of the United States someday." In contrast, 77.4 per cent of the experimental group students rejected this statement. It is a fact of American political life that individuals with particular social characteristics are more likely than others to attain positions of political leadership. However, most control group students were unaware of this reality.

Control group students tended to be ignorant of the relationship of socioeconomic status to political behavior. For example, control group students tended to believe that "all individuals in our country can have an equal opportunity to influence the decisions of government officials." Furthermore, control group students tended to be ignorant of variation in political influence associated with higher or lower prestige occupations. Only 48.5 per cent of the control group students agreed that "Individuals who hold jobs as owners of businesses, managers of businesses, lawyers, and medical doctors usually have more influence on the decisions of government than do individuals who are manual workers or clerks." In contrast, 73.3 per cent of the experimental group students accepted this statement as correct.

The control group students were much less likely than experimental group students to know about the power of committee chairmen relative to other Congressmen, the specialization of a Congressman's job reflected in particular committee assignments, and the pressures on Congressmen to compromise, to make deals with their colleagues. For example, only 47.8 per cent of control group students responded "true" to this statement: "In the United States Congress, committee chairmen are likely to have more influence in decision-making about the making of laws than other Congressmen." In contrast, 79.5 per cent of the experimental group students answered "true" in response to this statement. Only 17.1 per cent of control group students believed that "A United States Congressman is expected to become an expert on only certain topics that come before Congress." In contrast, 69 per cent of the experimental group students believed this.

The former speaker of the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn, is supposed to have characterized the accommodational aspects of the role behavior of a Congressman with the reminder that to be a successful Congressman "you have to go along to get along." However, this basic element of the role behavior of Congressmen appeared to be unknown to most control group students, since only 36 per cent of them agreed that "a United States Congressman is expected to do favors for other Congressmen in anticipation of receiving favors in return." In contrast, 85.6 per cent of experimental group students responded "true" to this statement.

It must be acknowledged that the test performances of experimental group students, though impressive, reveal that many students did not achieve many of the basic knowledge objectives of the "American Political Behavior" course. Mean scores clustering in the high thirties, on a 55 point test, reveal that many individuals in the experimental groups performed poorly on the Political Knowledge Test. Analysis of the performances of experimental group students led to revisions in the content of the published version of the course.

The strongest argument in support of the efficacy of APB is the similarity in mean scores of experimental groups in nine different communities. Experimental groups studied the course in different regions of the country, in different types of schools, and in response to teachers of varying degrees of preparation and ability. Yet, the differences in mean scores of these several experimental groups is very small. It appears that APB had an impact on student knowledge and that the experimental course did occasion student acquisition of knowledge that is not part of typical civics courses.

Student Performance on the Political Science Skills Test

The Political Science Skills Test was designed to measure capability to organize and interpret information and to make critical judgments about statements and questions. Respondents were required to interpret contingency tables, to distinguish factual, normative, and definitional statements, to judge the worth of contrasting sampling procedures, to make deductions from premises, and to judge the worth and utility of questions. The total number of points that can be achieved on this test is twenty-five.*

The relationship of "American Political Behavior" to performance on the Political Science Skills Test was not as clear-cut as the relationship of the experimental course to performance on the Political Knowledge Test. Table 2 shows that in Communities B, C, D, and I, there is a sizeable difference in mean scores between experimental and control groups. In each of these four cases, the correlation ratio (E^2) is large enough to indicate that the treatment variable had a sizeable impact on the "political science skills" of experimental group students.** However, in communities A, E, and H, the correlation ratios (E^2) are much lower, which indicates a modest impact of the treatment variable on test performance.*** In communities F and G the mean score differences between experimental and control groups is meager. In these two cases, the correlation ratios are so low as to indicate little or no impact of the treatment variable on the skills test performances of experimental group students.

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*A panel of social science educators and political scientists was asked to judge the items comprising the Political Science Skills Test to certify content validity. However, the instrument was not pilot tested prior to use in this study. Therefore, in contrast to the Political Knowledge Test, this instrument is much less refined and is being revised. The relative crudity of this instrument is reflected by modest reliability coefficients yielded by the Kuder-Richardson test of reliability. The median reliability coefficient derived from respondents in nine pairs of experimental and control groups is .69.

**In each of these four cases, the F ratios indicate that the difference between the mean score of experimental and control groups is statistically significant at the .001 level. The F ratios are: Community B = 115.47; Community C = 57.68; Community D = 20.84; Community I = 21.96.

***The F ratio for Community A is 27.78, which is significant at the .001 level. However, this is due to the relatively large number of respondents in the sample. The low correlation ratio in this case ($E^2 = .11$) indicates a very slight impact of the treatment variable on test performance. The F ratio for Community E is 8.54 which is significant at the .01 level. The F ratio for Community H is 5.74 which is significant at the .05 level.

Analysis of the relationship of certain social variables to test performance indicates that only academic ability is a key explanatory variable. In five communities (A, E, F, H, and I), student academic ability in combination with the treatment variable accounted for a much larger proportion of the variation in student test performance than the treatment variable alone. In communities B, C. D, and G academic ability did not account for variation in performance on the "Political Science Skills Test."

As indicated in Table 3, students who ranked themselves above average in academic ability scored much higher on the "Political Science Skills Test" than did others. The correlation ratios (E^2) in these five cases, yielded by the combination of above average academic ability and experimental group membership, are markedly higher than the correlation ratios generated by the treatment variable alone. (See Tables 2 and 3.) It is significant that in communities B, C, and D. where the treatment variable alone produced high correlation ratios, neither academic ability nor any other variable contributed markedly to the difference in mean scores between experimental and control groups. (See Table 2.)

There was little or no difference in the performance of students of "prepared" as compared to "unprepared" teachers on the "Skills" test. The mean scores of the experimental groups taught by "prepared" teachers are: A = 15.97; B = 15.83; C = 18.08; and G = 15.62. The mean scores of the "unprepared" teachers are: D = 18.00; E = 15.58; F = 15.70; I = 15.61. (See Table 2.)

Analysis of responses to particular items of the Political Science Skills Test indicates somewhat the difference in capabilities of experimental and control group students to organize and interpret information and to make critical judgments about statements and questions. For example, control group students tended to be unable to distinguish factual and normative statements, to make critical judgments about sampling procedures, to interpret contingency tables, and to make critical judgments about questions.

Following are three examples of the inability of most control group students to distinguish factual and normative statements. Only 26.5 per cent of control group students identified this statement as a value judgment: "Every citizen should vote in public elections." In contrast, fifty per cent of the experimental group students identified the above statement as normative.

TABLE 2

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS IN THE POLITICAL SCIENCE SKILLS TEST

Community	Grade Level	Experimental Group Mean Scores	Control Group Mean Scores	Correlation Ratio (E^2)
A	9th	15.97 (N105)	13.25 (N124)	.11
B	9th	15.83 (N118)	10.45 (N121)	.38
C	8th	18.08 (N82)	11.68 (N39)	.34
D	12th	18.00 (N18)	13.43 (N18)	.38
E	9th	15.58 (N20)	13.00 (N27)	.16
F	9th	15.70 (N23)	13.63 (N35)	.08
G	9th, 12th*	15.62 (N60)	14.94 (N47)	.01
H	12th	17.73 (N21)	14.31 (N17)	.14
I	9th	15.61 (N19)	10.33 (N20)	.37

*The experimental group in this high school consisted of ninth-graders, and the control group consisted of twelfth-graders.

TABLE 3

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES ON THE POLITICAL SCIENCE SKILLS TEST OF ABOVE AVERAGE, AVERAGE, AND BELOW AVERAGE STUDENTS IN EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Community	Experimental Group Mean Scores		Control Group Mean Scores		Correlation Ratio (E^2)
	Above Average Students	Average and Below Average Students	Above Average Students	Average and Below Average Students	
A	16.96	14.90	14.80	11.90	.19
E	18.01	13.39	13.32	13.00	.32
F	16.75	13.29	13.60	14.00	.15
H	18.64	16.17	16.49	13.45	.18
I	17.88	13.33	9.71	10.64	.51

Only 24.6 per cent of the control group students correctly identified this statement as factual: "Older individuals are more likely to vote in public elections than younger individuals." In contrast, 85.1 per cent of the experimental group students identified this statement as factual. Only 35.1 per cent of the control group students correctly labeled this statement as normative: "The United States of America has the best government in the world." In contrast 54.2 per cent of the experimental group students identified the above statement as normative.

Control group students were less likely than experimental group students to make sound critical judgments about sampling procedures. For example, 72.3 per cent of the experimental group students judged random sampling procedures as superior to alternative sampling techniques. In contrast, only 43.7 per cent of the control group students were able to make this critical judgment.

Control group students were less likely than their experimental group counterparts to make sound critical judgments about questions to be utilized in research. For example, 65 per cent of experimental group students were able to discriminate between "loaded" and more objectively worded questions. In contrast, slightly less than half of the control group students were able to make this distinction.

The greatest difference in the capabilities of control and experimental group students was in the skill of interpreting two-by-two and two-by-three contingency tables. Over sixty per cent of the experimental group students responded correctly to each of six test items concerning the interpretation of these statistical tables. Less than thirty-five per cent of the control group students responded correctly to each of these same test items.

The performances of experimental and control group students on the Political Science Skills Test indicate an extensive impact of the "American Political Behavior" course on skill development in four communities, a modest impact of the course on skill development in three communities, and little or no impact of the course on skill development in two communities. The limited impact of the experimental course on student skill development triggered an extensive revision of the critical thinking and inquiry skills development program that was included in the published version of APB.

Student Performance on the Political Attitude Scales

Six political attitude scales were constructed to measure the impact of the treatment variable on attitudes associated with a democratic orientation.* These six scales were designed to measure these political attitudes: 1) political tolerance; 2) political interest; 3) sense of political efficacy; 4) equalitarianism; 5) political trust; and 6) political cynicism.

American civic educators have been concerned traditionally with the relationship of formal instruction to the development of democratic political attitudes and beliefs. The six attitude scales used in this study represent aspects of democracy. No one has sorted definitively the complex tangle of meanings implied by "democracy," but philosophers and political scientists have reached agreement about some essentials. They have agreed that a democratic political orientation consists of beliefs and attitudes that are supportive of the potentially conflicting practices of majority rule and protection of minority rights. Irish and Prothro have said that, "the central principles of government based on democratic theory are majority rule and minority rights. Taken together, these principles constitute the briefest possible definition of democracy."* What are some implications, for the measurement of the democratic political orientations of students, of these two central principles of democracy?

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*To build the six attitude scales used in this study, six sets of attitude items were written which presumably measure these attitudes: political tolerance, political interest, sense of political efficacy, equalitarianism, political trust, and political cynicism. The six sets of items were pilot tested with a sample of 317 ninth- and twelfth-grade students from ten different schools. Factor analysis was applied to the pilot test data in order to determine whether the items included in each of the six sets were measuring something in common. On the basis of this factor analysis, the six sets of items were refined to construct the six attitude scales used in this study. The range of factor loadings generated by the six scales when used in this study were: 1) Political Tolerance Scale (eight items), .50-.63; 2) Political Interest Scale (five items), .53-.65;3) Sense of Political Efficacy Scale (four items), .51-.59; 4) Equalitarianism Scale (five items),.53-.69; 5) Political Trust Scale (five items), .54-.61; 6) Political Cynicism Scale (eight items), .48-.62. These sizeable factor loadings indicate that the items in each of the six scales are reflections of the attitudes they are assumed to measure. The factor loadings demonstrate the existence of six distinct attitude dimensions, which is evidence for the construct validity of the six scales. See Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966, pp. 650-685.

The principle of majority rule refers to the populist or participatory theme of democracy. It subsumes political interest and sense of political efficacy, two of the political attitude dimensions in this study. A sense of political efficacy refers to feelings that an individual can and ought to try to influence the decisions of public officials. Individuals with a high sense of political efficacy believe that they can have a voice in what the government does. Political interest means that one seeks opportunities to become more informed about political affairs. Individuals with high political interest often talk about politics with family members, friends, and work associates. Individuals with high political interest regularly read newspapers and magazine articles about politics and watch programs about political affairs on television. The majority rule theme of democracy is not operable unless large numbers of citizens display a high degree of political interest and a high sense of political efficacy.

Protection of minority rights refers to the libertarian theme of democracy. It implies political tolerance, the willingness to grant equal rights and opportunities even to unpopular minority groups. As Lord Acton said: "The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities." The libertarian theme of democracy is the essential check upon absolute majority rule, which presumably leads to dictatorsnip. Individuals with a high degree of political tolerance support freedom of speech and political action for unpopular individuals and/or groups as well as for more orthodox types. Politically tolerant individuals believe that it is legitimate to criticize their government and their political leaders. Politically tolerant individuals believe that unpopular minority groups should have the same legal rights as others in the society.

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*M. D. Irish and J. W. Prothro. The Politics of American Democracy. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965, p. 55.

Some political theorists have posited a third major theme of democracy, which can be labeled "equalitarianism." "Equalitarianism" means the use of public institutions to provide more equal opportunities in employment, health, and education. Some advocates of democracy believe that civil liberties are necessary, but insufficient, guarantees of "true" freedom. They claim that freedom of speech is not a very significant right to hungry or diseased people. A person with strong equalitarian beliefs expresses support for public or community programs in education, health care, and employment opportunities. The "equalitarian" individual supports policies which contribute to a more even distribution of wealth.

Some political theorists add the dimension of trust to their conceptualization of democracy. Political trust means support for the basic ideals of the political system. It means not holding politics and politicians in disrepute. Individuals with high political trust have faith in the goodness of men and believe that most government officials desire to serve the public. As Elizabeth Simpson has said: "Deeply embedded in democratic political ideology, this assumption of positive human nature implies that, because man is good, men (and therefore representatives in positions of responsibility) can be trusted to look after the welfare of others."*

It is assumed that political cynicism undercuts an individual's orientation to democracy. Cynical individuals are likely to scoff at the feasibility of democratic political participation. However, the democratic person is not naively trusting. Sidney Hook has said that democracy requires "an intelligent distrust of leadership, a skepticism stubborn but not blind, of all demands for the enlargement of power, and an emphasis upon critical method in every phase of social life.** Democracy is sustained by the rational activist and the constructive critic, but democracy is surely undermined by cynical "political dropouts" and by cynical activists who would seek to attain democratic ideals through anti-democratic practices.

The categories of political interest, political efficacy, political tolerance, equalitarianism, political trust, and political cynicism certainly do not exhaustively denote the dimensions of democracy.

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*Elizabeth Leonie Simpson. Democracy's Stepchildren. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971, p. 80.

**Ibid., p. 82.

However, these categories are fundamental, if not all-encompassing, aspects of any conceptualization of democracy. What is the relationship of the treatment variable, APB, to the democratic political orientations of students as indicated by the six attitude scales employed in this study?

As shown in Tables 4-9, the treatment variable appears to have had little or no impact on the political attitudes of students.* The differences in mean scores between experimental and control groups on each of the six political attitude scales are slight. The correlation ratios associated with these mean score differences are very small, which indicates that the treatment variable had little or no impact on the student political attitudes measured in this study.

Analysis of the relationship of certain social characteristics to responses to the six attitude scales indicates no pattern of relationship across the nine communities between social variables, the treatment variable, and test performances of experimental and control groups. Neither the treatment variable alone nor the treatment variable in combination with other variables considered in this study accounted for the slight variation in mean scores of the experimental and control groups on the attitude scales.

This finding should be reassuring to those who have feared that teaching about the complex and sometimes sordid realities of political life could undermine the political trust of students and create political cynics. As indicated in Tables 8 and 9, exposure to the "American Political Behavior" course neither erodes

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*The mean scores reported in Tables 4-9 are T scores. The T scores were converted from original z scores, or standard scores, which were difficult to read because they included positive and negative numbers. The T scores were derived by multiplying every z score by ten and adding fifty. The z scores are used in this analysis, rather than raw scores, because they enable standardized comparison across six different attitude scales with different numbers of items. Also the z score, or standard score, enables one to account for the various factor loadings contributed by each item of an attitude scale in the analysis of variance of the scores of experimental and control group students. For a discussion of standard scores, see J. P. Guilford. Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965, pp. 512-518.

TABLE 4

DIFFERENCE IN MEAN SCORES OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS ON THE POLITICAL TOLERANCE SCALE

Community	Experimental Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Control Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Correlation Ratio (E^2)
A	48.6	50.5	.01
B	50.9	52.4	.01
C	54.9	50.1	.06
D	49.5	52.5	.03
E	45.0	43.5	.01
F	49.0	51.1	.01
G	52.3	51.5	.002
H	54.1	54.5	.001
I	49.2	50.1	.002

TABLE 5

DIFFERENCE IN MEAN SCORES OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS ON THE POLITICAL INTEREST SCALE

Community	Experimental Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Control Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Correlation Ratio (E^2)
A	49.8	54.4	.08
B	46.3	45.2	.004
C	50.5	49.6	.002
D	51.1	48.3	.06
E	49.9	48.1	.01
F	52.2	54.0	.02
G	51.2	53.3	.02
H	54.3	55.3	.008
I	45.3	52.3	.10

TABLE 6

DIFFERENCE IN MEAN SCORES OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS ON THE SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY SCALE

Community	Experimental Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Control Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Correlation Ratio (E^2)
A	49.2	51.5	.02
B	49.1	48.2	.002
C	51.5	51.8	.0001
D	51.1	49.2	.01
E	45.6	51.1	.08
F	50.7	53.0	.03
G	48.2	49.0	.004
H	50.4	50.1	.0002
I	49.8	49.5	.001

TABLE 7

DIFFERENCE IN MEAN SCORES OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS ON THE EQUALITARIANISM SCALE

Community	Experimental Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Control Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Correlation Ratio (E^2)
A	51.3	47.3	.05
B	51.4	50.2	.01
C	47.1	45.3	.01
D	50.5	48.3	.02
E	51.6	51.3	.0001
F	54.3	52.3	.006
G	50.1	52.2	.02
H	50.4	53.9	.04
I	52.3	45.3	.11

TABLE 8

DIFFERENCE IN MEAN SCORES OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS ON THE POLITICAL TRUST SCALE

Community	Experimental Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Control Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Correlation Ratio (E^2)
A	50.6	50.2	.002
B	49.4	51.4	.02
C	52.0	49.7	.01
D	46.1	41.8	.07
E	53.9	47.9	.11
F	48.3	51.7	.04
G	50.7	46.9	.02
H	41.0	50.7	.09
I	53.2	52.9	.0001

TABLE 9

DIFFERENCE IN MEAN SCORES OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS ON THE POLITICAL CYNICISM SCALE*

Community	Experimental Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Control Group Mean Scores (T Scores)	Correlation Ratio (E^2)
A	50.3	48.8	.01
B	52.4	48.3	.05
C	56.1	51.1	.09
D	50.8	47.7	.01
E	50.1	51.5	.01
F	50.6	47.0	.03
G	49.1	47.5	.01
H	45.7	46.2	.001
I	51.1	46.0	.07

*The smaller the number the higher the cynicism, and the larger the number the lower the cynicism.

trust nor creates cynicism. Furthermore, this study indicates that teaching about the controversies, conflicts, and compromises which are essential to politics, through the "American Political Behavior" course, does not subvert student faith in the participatory or libertarian principles of democracy. (See Tables 4-7.)

The lack of impact of APB on student political attitudes is consistent with numerous other studies about the impact of formal civics instruction on political attitudes.* It appears that short of a massive, sophisticated propaganda effort (which most educators would abhor) formal civics instruction in public schools is unlikely to directly accomplish significant large-scale changes in political attitudes.

Conclusions

On the basis of this study it can be maintained that APB is likely to have an impact on the "political knowledge" and "skills" of students. One can hypothesize that students who do not experience the "American Political Behavior" course, or some similar course, are likely to remain ignorant of certain fundamental facets of political behavior and the political process in our country. Furthermore, one can hypothesize that students who do not experience APB, or some similar course, are likely not to acquire certain skills necessary to critical thinking and inquiry.

Since typical civics courses have not been organized to achieve the knowledge and skill objectives of the "American Political Behavior" course, this report is not presented as a direct comparison of two types of courses in competition to achieve similar objectives. Rather, this comparison of experimental and control groups provides evidence that particular knowledge and skills, that are not part of typical civics courses, are likely to be acquired by students who experience APB. Educators who value the knowledge objectives of the "American Political Behavior" program are provided with grounds from which to argue that typical civics courses ought to be reconstructed. However, educators who do not value the knowledge and skill objectives of the "American Political Behavior" course -- educators who want civics teachers to achieve other knowledge and skill outcomes -- may find that the findings presented here are not pertinent to their concerns.

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*Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings. "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum." American Political Science Review, 62 (September, 1968), pp. 852-867.

This study, in combination with various other types of critical feedback, pin-pointed particular defects in the experimental version of APB which were attended to in the re-writing of the course for publication. For example, the skills development components of the experimental version were re-worked and extended in the light of "feedback" provided by teachers,political scientists, and students' performances on the Political Science Skills Test. Certain changes in the content of the experimental version were based on analysis of students' performances on the Political Knowledge Test. It is assumed that these refinements in the published version of "American Political Behavior" will be reflected in heightened student acquisition of political knowledge and skills of critical thinking and inquiry.

Course Rating Questionnaire

An additional, though not integral, part of the evaluation during the 1969-1970 field trial was the administration of a "Course Rating Questionnaire" to pilot classes. The purpose of this course rating questionnaire was to obtain opinions from pilot students about how they rated "American Political Behavior" relative to other social studies courses they had experienced in terms of categories such as interest, relevance, amount of learning and level of thinking.

Following are several tables which reveal student responses to each item of the "Course Rating Questionnaire."

TABLE 10

Question: Compared to other social studies courses that you have had, how would you rate your interest in "American Political Behavior"?

Response	Percent Responding
A. More Interesting	58.5
B. Less Interesting	17.4
C. About as Interesting	24.1
Total N (1,173)	100.0%

TABLE 11

Question: Compared to other social studies courses that you have had, how would you rate what you learned from the course in "American Political Behavior"?

Response	Percent Responding
A. I learned more	61.1
B. I learned less	10.7
C. I learned about as much from other social studies courses	28.2
Total N (1,173)	100.0%

TABLE 12

Statement: Compared to other social studies courses that you have had, does the course in "American Political Behavior" require you to:

Responses	Percent Responding
A. Think more	57.2
B. Think less	16.0
C. Think about as much as in other courses	26.8
Total N (1,173)	100.0%

TABLE 13

Question: Would you recommend that other students take this course in "American Political Behavior"?

Responses	Percent Responding
A. Yes	73.4
B. No	13.4
C. Uncertain	13.2
Total N (1,173)	100.0%

As shown in the tables, most of the respondents were very favorably disposed toward the "American Political Behavior" course. Only 17.4 per cent said that the course was less interesting than other social studies courses that they had experienced. Only 10.7 per cent said that they learned less from this course than from other social studies courses. Only 16 per cent said that the course required them to think less than other courses. And, most important, only 13.4 per cent said that they would not recommend that other students take APB.

The last part of the course rating questionnaire asked students to tell what they liked most and least about the course in "American Political Behavior." Case studies, games and simulations, and political opinion surveys were listed by most respondents as the types of lessons they liked most. For example, one eighth grade student from Nashville, Tennessee said: "I like the fact that it uses case studies to illustrate points and the cases have a real bearing on actual life." A ninth-grader from Lincoln, Rhode Island said: "I liked the case studies. They were interesting and you wouldn't mind reading them because they were so interesting."

Many students stressed the value of learning critical thinking skills and learning how to formulate and test hypotheses about political behavior. A twelfth-grader from Silver Spring, Maryland said: "I liked the way the student has to think for himself and draw his own conclusions. Everything is not cut and dried."

Many respondents noted the relevancy of the course, the direct and obvious relationship between the course content and current political events. A tenth-grade student from Eugene, Oregon noted: "The course deals with more current events and you can relate it to the things that are happening now."

Many students noted that the course deals forthrightly with many controversial topics and with the political beliefs and behavior of various social groups in our society. They endorsed this opportunity to learn more about how and why different groups of people behave politically.

Negative comments about the course focused on the heavy work load. Many students said that there was too much to read and too many exercises to complete. Many students also expressed negative feelings about working with statistical data. They found table and graph reading exercises to be difficult and tedious. A twelfth-grader from Eugene, Oregon said: "There was just too much to do."

Some students reacted negatively to the redundancy which was built into the course to provide reinforcement and to facilitate retention. However, other students said that this feature of the course facilitated learning. An eighth-grader from Nashville, Tennessee said: "It was hard for you to forget what you learned in this course because you used everything you learned over and over again."

Responses to the course rating questionnaire indicate that "American Political Behavior" was well-regarded by the majority of respondents. Relative to other social studies courses which the respondents experienced this experimental course was rated very highly.

A Concluding Note about Evaluation and Instructional Materials Development

Systematic evaluation is necessary to fruitful curriculum development. However, one feature of the "new social studies" that has received less attention than it deserves is the place of evaluation in the special projects. This is unfortunate because teachers who ask their students for "evidence" to support claims also should demand evidence from those who advocate the new social studies, or the "old" social studies for that matter. Moreover, in a period of "accountability" and "performance contracting," teachers should begin to hold their instructional materials accountable and measure their performance.

This is not to suggest that teachers and school officials presently avoid judgments about instructional materials; however, their judgments usually rest upon grounds other than responses they might receive to such questions as: What are the instructional objectives for these materials, and what evidence exists that students achieve them? or What impact do these materials have on children's attitudes toward the political system? Rarely do teachers ask for performance data on instructional materials that have been tested with student populations that differ according to socioeconomic class, academic ability, grade level, ethnic identity, and region of the country. Rather, other questions loom important to textbook selection committees: What is the reputation of the author? Is the book on the state-adoption list? Who is the publisher? Who endorses the book? Where is it used? Many instructional materials are probably selected because someone knows and trusts the salesman.

Evaluation by intuition also has been the style of various critics of the new social studies. Social studies specialists debate whether questions should precede or follow readings or whether questions should be used at all; at what point in the instructional sequence that "springboards" should be used; whether illustrations add or detract from learning; and how much "guided" inquiry is desirable. Too frequently, these debates are little more than one person matching his intuition against another's. Rarely do the debaters use empirical data to support their claims.

Efforts to answer basic questions about the worth of new curricula should be empirically grounded rather than based upon the exhortations of authorities, pious wishes, or popular beliefs. New programs of instruction should be appraised in terms of evidence about the success or failure of students to achieve clearly-stated objectives.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

by Howard Mehlinger

Most of our "conclusions" can be found in other sections of this report. Nevertheless, this section provides an opportunity to reflect upon the curriculum reform effort itself.

Relations between USOE and HSCCG

The project interacted with USOE at two levels: funding and policy determination. In general USOE was a reasonable agency with regard to funding. This does not mean that USOE was particularly generous with its funds. Indeed, USOE, in contrast to NSF, provided only the minimum essentials to support curriculum development. It was necessary to produce materials in the least expensive ways, to rely upon the core staff for tasks that should have been assigned to paid specialists and to ask for free labor by pilot teachers. Nevertheless, the staff knew the level of funding that was possible within the USOE Cooperative Research Program and found that the program officers were sympathetic to their needs and did their best to meet them within program and budgetary limits.

The one policy issue which most affected the project was USOE copyright policy. When the project began, OE policy required developers to submit all of their work to public domain upon completion. Midway through the project, these guidelines were changed. The new policy provided a "public domain alternative," but those groups that had produced materials that would be marketed commercially were persuaded to seek a five-year exclusive copyright to publish their materials. Any royalties resulting from such sales were to be shared by the Federal Government and the institution that hosted the project.

In general, the change in policy was appropriate. Under the old policy USOE received much material that was not ready for use; after submitting their work to public domain, the developers signed contracts with publishers and profited from their project work. While the new policy made curriculum development less profitable for the developers, it may lead to better products and could have the effect of building institutional commitments to curriculum development as a professional activity.

One of the disappointing aspects of working with USOE is the relative lack of cooperation that characterizes the various divisions within the agency. Moreover, each division develops an ideology to support its own programs. Thus, the Cooperative Research Branch viewed course development as the key to improving instruction; the teacher training branch championed teachers as the key to better instruction. Of course, better teachers and better instructional materials, as well as many other elements, are essential to bring about reform in American education. It is frustrating, albeit understandable, that this simple message is too seldom understood in USOE. Often the developers had to build their own multiple strategy and sell it to program officials, when these officials should have been the ones trying to bring the various programs together in a coordinated strategy to affect change.

Universities as Sites for Research-Based Development

During the 1960's, USOE established "regional labs" to assume major responsibility for creating tested products and practices for schools. Presumably, the establishment of these labs, independent of universities, was based upon some assumptions regarding the relative advantages and disadvantages universities offer as locations for development.

It is true that development does not fit easily into normal university routines. Traditionally, universities expect teaching, research, and service from its professional employees. Development does not fit any of these functions neatly. Instructional materials developers are not researchers, although they use the products of research and conduct evaluation-research to judge their success. They are not teachers, although the object of their effort is to improve instruction. Indeed, the closest equivalent to development in the minds of many academics is "writing textbooks," an activity held in low esteem in the academy.

University officials are often surprised at the costs of development. The development and testing of instructional products is vastly more expensive than writing a textbook. Developers travel more than typical professors. And, developers pose unusual problems in regards to compensation. Professors consult and write books to supplement their incomes. Is this proper activity for a full-time developer? Should he receive higher pay if "moonlight" activities are refused? Should he share in the profits of the published products he has developed? All of these pose difficult dilemmas for university officials.

Despite these and other difficulties universities can provide fertile and stimulating sites for instructional development. Large universities attract people who are leading experts in their fields. Thus, developers have access to a range of consultants that are not employable by regional labs. The libraries and special collections that are found typically at major universities cannot be duplicated by labs. It is likely that some professionals prefer a university affiliation and will not join a lab. And the universities project a favorable image to schools.

The project was fortunate to be located at Indiana University. While the staff faced many of the disadvantages cited above because of its university location, the developers have also reaped its advantages. Moreover, certain key officials, especially Dean David Clark and Chancellor Byrum Carter, understood what the project was attempting to do and supported it. A hostile, or indifferent, administration would have made project tasks more difficult. In addition to these and other helpful administration officials, most colleagues, especially those members of the social studies education faculty in the School of Education, viewed the project as an asset to the University. The existence of HSCCG led to the establishment of the Indiana University Social Studies Development Center which in turn has contributed importantly to strengthening social studies teaching and research at the University. In short, social studies education is more interesting at Indiana University today than it was in 1966. In part this has resulted from the existence of the High School Curriculum Center in Government.

In Conclusion

What did USOE and the American taxpayers receive for $348,220.00? First of all, they have a new approach to the study of high school civics and government that did not exist before the grant. There are indications that APB will help break the monopoly of ideas that froze thinking about civics and government instruction in the past. One may expect many more alternative approaches to civics and government in the future and hopefully a revived interest in the study of politics and government in the schools.

The USOE grant trained a group of people for new roles in helping reform schools. Thus, the number of trained developers has increased. In addition, the grant led to the establishment of the Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University. This Center will continue the effort to reform school instruction in the social studies.

The USOE grant to support an effort to reform civics and government instruction in high schools can have a significant impact upon American education. And, as a result of the royalty arrangements under the new USOE guidelines, the Federal Government is likely to recover more than one-half of its investment.

APPENDIX A

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF AMERICAN YOUTH: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES

by John J. Patrick

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POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF AMERICAN YOUTH:
A REVIEW OF RESEARCH WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES

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March, 1967

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FOREWORD

Assisted by a grant from the U. S. Office of Education, the Department of Government and the School of Education at Indiana University jointly established in July, 1966, the High School Curriculum Center in Government. The Center's Executive Committee consists of two representatives from the Department of Government -- Mr. Byrum Carter, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Mr. William Siffin, Associate Professor of Government -- and two representatives from the School of Education -- Mr. Shirley Engle, Associate Dean of Advanced Studies, and Mr. Frederick Smith, Associate Professor of Education. Dean Engle is the Chairman of the Executive Committee. The Director of the Center is Mr. Howard Mehlinger, Assistant Professor of History. Mr. John Patrick, a graduate student in the School of Education, and Mrs. Jane Lewis, secretary, complete the Center staff. The primary purpose of this Center is to prepare, to tryout, and to evaluate new materials and methods for teaching these materials for courses in civics and government in grades nine through twelve. Specifically, the Center is at work on materials for the ninth-grade Civics course and the eleventh- and twelfth-grade courses in American Government and American Problems.

It seemed obvious to me that any effort to write materials concerning civics and government for use in secondary schools without a prior examination of what students already believe and understand about government as a result of earlier learning experiences would face many frustrations and false starts. Therefore, Mr. John Patrick, a research associate for the Center, undertook a review of existing research on the topic of political socialization. He made no attempt to engage in original research; his assignment was to pull together into a single essay what seemed relevant from research on political socialization of American youth for secondary school social studies.

Although his original purpose was simply to prepare a working paper for the use of the Center staff, the result was a document that we believe to be immediately useful to a number of professional people, perhaps most importantly of all, to secondary school teachers of civics and government. Many studies have revealed that the results of scientific research do not often reach teachers until many years after the findings have been available. We, therefore, decided to make this pamphlet available to teachers, curriculum directors, and others who are interested in this problem and therefore accelerate the process of making research data available to non-specialists in a form they can easily use. Those who are familiar with research in political socialization will find much in this paper that is familiar to them, but they will also encounter some new formulations of well-known ideas and a few challenges to popular assumptions, particularly those relating to the significance of early learning in political socialization and those relating to anti-democratic attitudes of American youth.

This essay is intended primarily as a review of research. Those looking for prescriptions for selection of content and organization of the curriculum will be disappointed. However, Mr. Patrick has raised a number of questions at different points throughout his paper that suggest implications that might be drawn from the paper. It should be noted that while the research Mr. Patrick reports is the work of others, the reporting of this research, the questions he raises, and the implications he draws are entirely his own.

Howard Mehlinger
Director, High School
Curriculum Center
in Government

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I. WHAT IS POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION?

When American children obey the commands of a policeman directing traffic, pledge allegiance to the flag, select a class president by majority vote, or profess a preference for democracy, they are conforming to politically relevant cultural norms; they are performing particular socially acceptable roles in response to cultural cues. This behavior results from political socialization, the gradual learning of sanctioned political conduct and beliefs.[1] Political socialization is one facet of socialization, the process through which an individual learns to become an acceptable member of the society in which he lives. Just as socialization pertains to an individual's conformity to his society's culture,[2] so political socialization refers to an individual's adaptation to his society's political culture.

Through political socialization individuals learn and internalize the particular ways of using power and authority that their society sanctions. This sanctioned political behavior is the society's approach to the solution of fundamental political problems, such as how to reconcile individual freedom with social control, and is transmitted from generation to generation; it constitutes the society's political culture. Political socialization involves the following component processes which an individual must experience in order to adequately assimilate a political culture: 1) learning politically relevant basic behavior disciplines and dispositions, such as a general disposition to forego immediate personal gratification in order to achieve a long-range group goal, that are necessary to the maintenance of a political order; 2) learning political aspirations, such as the desire to participate in politics, that are necessary to the continuation of a political order; 3) learning political roles and their supporting attitudes that enable an individual to behave in ways that are sanctioned by his political culture; 4) learning political skills that prepare an individual to effectively participate in the political affairs of his society; 5) learning information about political behavior, the structure of government, and political issues that assist an individual to make sensible political decisions.[3]

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[1] Fred I. Greenstein defines political socialization as, ". . . all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally non-political learning which affects political behavior, such as the learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics." (26:1)

Roberta Sigel says, "Political socialization is the gradual learning of the norms, attitudes, and behavior accepted and practiced by the ongoing political system. For example, members of a stable democratic system are expected to learn to effect change through elections through the application of group practice rather than through street riots or revolutions." (80:2)

[2] Culture is, "the pattern of all those arrangements, material or behavioral, which have been adopted by a society as the traditional ways of solving the problems of its members. Culture includes all the institutionalized ways and the implicit cultural beliefs, norms, values, and premises which underlie and govern conduct." (49:380)

Children learn sanctioned political behavior and beliefs both formally and informally, deliberately and incidentally in the home, in school, and in various interaction situations with peers and adults. This learning continues throughout a person's life, always strongly influenced by earlier learning. The end toward which this process functions is the development of individuals who are integrated into the political realm of their culture; who accept the approved motives, habits, and values relevant to the political system of their society; who transmit these political norms to future generations. This cultural heritage is so deeply rooted that we are seldom conscious of it. Consequently, many individuals often assume that the way people in their society do things is the truly "human,"

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[3] These component processes of political socialization entail both politically relevant facets of personality development and specific political learning. According to Fred I. Greenstein, "The former include basic dispositions, beliefs, and attitudes which affect political behavior. The latter involves 1) learning connected with the citizen role (partisan attachment, ideology, motivation to participate), 2) learning connected with the subject role (national loyalty, orientation toward authority, conceptions of the legitimacy of institutions), and 3) learning connected with recruitment to and performance of specialized roles, such as bureaucrat, party functionary, and legislator." (26:4)

"natural," or "proper" way, and that contrary behavior is "barbaric," "perverse," or "unreasonable." This ethnocentric viewpoint often stems from not understanding that most of our behavior is learned rather than instinctive, that this non-instinctive behavior may be changed through new learning, and that this learning may result in various equally viable, though differentiated, patterns of human behavior.

Political socialization produces a certain amount of conformity that is necessary to continuation of a given political order. Yet political behavior and beliefs need not become totally standardized, although they are shaped by the same political culture. For example, in a democratic political culture, the right to reasonable non-conformity and dissent is a basic value which is transmitted through the political socialization process. The extent to which individuals are open to a wide range of different experiences greatly affects the transmission of political beliefs. Since many agencies contribute to an individual's political socialization -- the family, the school, friends, voluntary organizations, mass media of communication -- the individual is open to the possibility of learning conflicting values. Thus, cross-pressures may be established that reduce conformity to any single group's values. In a pluralistic society, such as the United States of America, these cross-pressures greatly reduce the incidence of rigid, ideologically-based political behavior. Also, uniform and smooth transmission of political beliefs is impeded in a pluralistic society, comprised of various diverse groups or subcultures, because individuals who have distinct family, school, or peer group experiences are likely to develop distinctive approaches to politics. Finally, socialization is always modified by individual potentialities for learning. Obviously, a wide range of individual potentialities exists in any society. Political behavior is differentiated, because many individuals are incapable of learning certain political skills or roles. However, if political socialization does not inevitably produce total conformity in political behavior, it does limit the range of variation in politically relevant experience open to individuals in any given society, although the limits may be broad enough to permit much significant freedom of choice.

The stability, even the continued existence, of a political order depends ultimately upon political socialization. Whether an individual comes to terms successfully with his political world or becomes alienated from it is a function of this crucial process. Whether a political system is conservatively maintained, gradually altered, or radically reformed depends largely upon political socialization. In any society, the political socialization process can give rise both to loyalty and disloyalty, engagement and apathy, conformity and deviation. These conflicting tendencies are present in individuals as well as in groups. If a society's political culture is transmitted effectively to each new generation, then political stability is maintained.

The tasks of political socialization research are to sort out the conflicting tendencies of political loyalty and disloyalty, engagement and apathy, conformity and deviation that exist in a society, to identify the social agencies that influence political beliefs and behavior, to assess the relative importance of these various agencies of socialization, to note the extent and direction of change in the political order, to gauge the health, the vitality, the staying-power of a political system, and to recommend how the political socialization process might be more effectively directed and to what end.

Systematic studies of political socialization are of recent origin. A few pertinent studies were made during the period 1900-1955, but most significant research in this field has been done within the past few years. As political socialization research is relatively new and unrefined, many conclusions are highly tentative, sometimes conflicting, and often ambiguous. While much is known about the content of the political beliefs of American children, relatively little is known about how these beliefs are formed. Speculations about the process of political socialization are abundant, but positive knowledge is negligible.

No over-arching theoretical model adequately organizes and delimits political socialization research. Several existing theories deal with various particulars of the political socialization process. But no molar theory exists that defines relationships among all the variables pertinent to political socialization. No molar theory exists that relates political socialization to socialization generally and to the culture in which this socialization occurs. (81:11-17)

Current research methods consist almost entirely of various kinds of written questionnaires, that cannot provide a complete or precise picture of political values and the process by which they develop. Many of these questionnaires force responses into a set pattern; opportunities for unusual or unorthodox responses are curtailed. Often respondents seek to give the answers that they believe the researcher wants, or that their teacher approves. Even the best questionnaires cannot provide precise information about the factors that influence certain patterns of responses. Also, questionnaires may not accurately reflect political behavior, when they ask respondents to report what they would do in a given situation. A reported behavior may differ considerably from the individual's actual behavior in real-life circumstances. (81:2-11)

Despite evident shortcomings, political socialization research does have significance for American secondary school civics and government instruction. Political socialization is by no means a function primarily of particular secondary school social studies courses, or even of the formal educational system. Nevertheless, the school is a very important agent of political socialization in American society, and social studies courses, particularly civics and government, are consciously intended to further the adaptation of young people to the American political culture. The development of good citizenship (variously interpreted) remains the most frequently cited basic objective of civics and government teaching. Political socialization research can contribute to the achievement of this objective by helping to identify the norms that define good citizenship in American culture, the means for transmitting these norms, the relative effectiveness of these means, and the extent to which actual behavior conforms to stated values. Thus, the study of political socialization can contribute to the improvement of secondary school civics and government instruction by enriching our knowledge of what American youth believe about politics, of the extent to which these beliefs correspond to American political norms, of the contributions of formal political education to political socialization, and of the possible strategies for the improvement of political socialization through social studies education.

II. WHAT DO YOUNG AMERICANS BELIEVE ABOUT POLITICS?[4]

Stability has been a hallmark of the American political system, indicating the long-term positive force of political socialization in our society. Over one hundred years ago Alexis de Tocqueville noted the basic conservatism, the popular aversion to extremist ideas, and the coercive power of popular opinion that distinguished American politics. He predicted that revolutionary outbursts would become increasingly unlikely as the American nation matured, citing "the presence of the black race on the soil of the United States" as the only potential disturber of an elemental socio-political tranquility. (90:263-274) Subsequent events thoroughly substantiated de Tocqueville's keen intuition.

Recent political socialization research indicates that America's traditional political stability has rested upon the solid ground of generally favorable popular attitudes about government, political authority, law, political leaders, and the American political system.[5] These positive, supportive feelings appear to emerge at an early age; they are very well-developed among fourth-grade children. American elementary school children revere the role of President, feel that political leaders generally are benevolent, accept the authority of government as legitimate and just, and venerate patriotic symbols.[6] Often until the ages of nine or ten religion and patriotism are intermingled, with the result that God and country are worshiped indistinguishably. Our President, our government, our laws, our nation are perceived as righteous and virtuous, the forces of good in a sometimes evil world. (13, 14, 22)

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[4] This discussion concerns the main-stream political beliefs of most young Americans. The variation in political beliefs of young Americans due to low socio-economic status and sex identity is discussed in Part III-C of this paper.

[5] The research of Fred Greenstein, David Easton, and Jack Dennis is typical of inquiries by social scientists about children's political beliefs. In 1958 Greenstein administered questionnaires to a sample of 659 New Haven, Connecticut school children between the ages of nine and thirteen and of widely diversified socio-economic backgrounds. A small sub-sample of these children was interviewed. Easton and Dennis administered questionnaires to over 12,000 middle and working-class white children in grades two through eight, from large urban areas. A sub-sample of these children was interviewed.

[6] Greenstein reports that children's views of political leaders are considerably more favorable than those of adults. Comparing his data with the American Institute of Public Opinion's February, 1958 report of the President's popularity, Greenstein observed that American adults were about five times more willing to criticize the chief executive than were his sample of New Haven children. (22: 35-36)

Children rate the Presidential political role as more prestigious than other adult roles such as doctor, judge, school teacher, or religious leader. This attitude is entrenched firmly by age nine. It implies that children become aware of the importance of political roles well before the age of nine, focusing first upon the Presidential role, which for primary-grade children may personify government. (13, 22, 32)

From their focus upon the President, fourth and fifth-grade children develop an awareness first of national, then of local, then of state government. The national level of government is the first at which an awareness emerges of the general difference between executive and legislative functions. Comparable understanding of state government is not manifested until sixth grade. Awareness of the executive precedes awareness of the legislature at each level of government as the dominating and attention-getting roles of President, mayor, and governor tend to overshadow other aspects of government. Not until seventh grade do most children show an understanding of legislative attitudes equivalent to their comprehension of executive functions. (13, 22, 32) With increasing age children tend to focus upon Congress and the law-making process as the center of government. (13)

Pre-adolescents are disposed favorably toward political participation.[7]

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[7] Over 98 per cent of Greenstein's sample said that they would vote when they reached age twenty-one. Over two-thirds of the group said, "It makes much difference who wins an election." These sentiments contrast sharply with significantly smaller proportions of adults who have made similar statements in the Survey Research Center's election studies. For example, during the 1952 election campaign only a fifth of the respondents said, "It would make a great deal of difference to the country whether the Democrats or Republicans win the election." (22:36-37)

They believe that it is important to vote in public elections and that it makes a great deal of difference who wins an election. (22:35-36) They identify with a particular political party at an early age. Between sixty to seventy per cent of a given group of fourth-grade children profess a preference for the Republican or Democratic party. (22:36) This is identical with the frequency of party identification among young adults, ages 21-24, and corresponds closely to the seventy-five per cent of older Americans who are persistently loyal to a political party. (22:37)

During the elementary school years, most children learn to tolerate the kind of partisan political conflict associated with elections. They learn to accept the rights of individuals to align themselves into opposing political parties and to compete vigorously for election to public office. They consider power won according to the "rules of the game" as legitimate. Thus, at an early age children manifest acceptance of a major American political norm that is crucial to the functioning of a democratic society. They express both willingness to accept partisan conflict and the will of the majority as basic elements of the American political system. (14)

Children acquire generally favorable beliefs about political authority, political leaders, the political system, and political parties prior to basic relevant knowledge. Nine-year-old children who are aware of political authority roles and have positive feelings about these roles have little specific knowledge of these roles. Only a few fourth-grade children can describe the duties of the President.[8] They have virtually no knowledge about other aspects of government. Although a large number of fourth-grade children can state a political party preference, they have little information about the difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. Most fourth-graders are not aware of who political party leaders are or what a political party does.[9] Not until the seventh or eighth grade do children begin to buttress their political beliefs with pertinent political knowledge. Not until this time can they typically identify any significant differences between Republican and Democratic policies or even name prominent leaders of either party.[10] Not until this time are they oriented to political issues and ideologies. (14, 22)

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[8] Less than a fourth of the New Haven fourth-grade children could describe the President's duties. (22:58-59)

The extremely favorable attitudes of children about politics and governmental authority contrast strikingly with the cynicism and alienation found frequently among American adults.[11] Many adults believe that it does not make much difference who wins an election, that most politicians are corrupt, that voting is at best a choice between degrees of evil and maybe a complete waste of time, that government is not responsive to popular demands, that bad government is probably unavoidable, but endurable. These politically alienated individuals have noted the prevalent disparity between democratic political values and American political behavior, between the way they believe politics ought to be and the way they perceive it to be. This alienation may lead to apathy, cynical participation, or rebellion; to apolitical indifference, political self-seeking, or hyper-political revolutionary zeal. In American culture the usual consequences of political alienation are apathy (witness the typical proportionately low turnouts for elections) or cynicism, a willingness to go along with an unchangeable bad situation in order to get as much out of it as possible.[12] (54:391-392)

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[9] Although sixty per cent of nine-year-olds stated a party preference, only about thirty-three per cent could name even one public representative from either of the two major parties and less than twenty per cent could name a leader of either party. (22:71-73)

[10] Greenstein reports that even at the eighth-grade level only fifty per cent of the New Haven children were able to satisfactorily identify ideological differences between Democrats and Republicans. He said, "In terms of the Survey Research Center's index of ideological sophistication, we find that only six per cent of the eighth-graders make the kind of statements made by the 'most sophisticated' fifty-one per cent of the adult population -- references to a generalized liberal-conservative ideology and references to social class and other group differences in the party constituencies." (22:69)

[11] Easton and Hess suggest that adult political alienation does not influence the beliefs of most pre-adolescents, because, ". . . adults in the United States show a strong tendency to shelter young children from the realities of political life. In many ways it is comparable perhaps to the prudery of a Victorian era that sought to protect the child from what were thought to be the sordid facts of sex and parental conflict. In our society politics remains at the Victorian stage as far as children are concerned. . . . Adults tend to paint politics for the child in rosier hues. And the younger the child the more pronounced is this protective tendency." (14:244)

Political cynicism and alienation among adults have not seriously threatened American political stability. Indeed, widespread political apathy and disinterest may help account for this persistent stability; most politically disengaged Americans would rather not play the political game than attempt to actively undermine the system. Also, if all citizens were zealously engaged in political activity, persistent and severe disruptive clashes could result. More important, favorable beliefs about politics are implanted at an early age, and learning which takes place early in life is difficult to dislodge and to some degree makes a lasting imprint upon the personality, especially when it is founded upon emotion rather than information and reason. Negative attitudes about politics are learned just prior to adolescence, at the earliest. When adults experience conflict between their positive and negative attitudes about American politics, the positive attitudes often prevail, since they were learned earliest and were based upon affect and emotion rather than information and reason.[13] (22:53-54)

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[12] One should not conclude that the United States is filled with alienated, distrustful people. Compared with people in most other countries, Americans hold quite favorable attitudes about their political system. Most Americans seldom, if ever, impugn fundamentals of the American political order. However, when compared to the pristine simplicity of political beliefs of American children, the political beliefs of many American adults do manifest considerable cynicism and/or alienation.

It seems that the seeds of later adult political alienation are implanted during adolescence. As they approach adolescence, children begin a slow pattern of political "deidealization." Seventh and eighth-graders recognize that the President is not a "super-ordinary" human being, always wise, benevolent, and just; that he makes errors, some of them serious; that he is not necessarily benign and warmhearted; that he is not "the best person in the world." Children grow to differentiate between the Presidential institutions and the personal attributes of the incumbent. This allows for criticism of the President without diminishing basic allegiance to government and country. An appreciation develops for Presidential role demands and political expediency. Many seventh, eighth, and ninth-grade children believe that the President tries to behave publicly in certain exemplary ways only because he is expected to behave in these ways, and because he wants to get re-elected. (22:69; 81:14)

Increasing "deidealization" about politics continues throughout adolescence and may turn into disillusionment and cynicism, the grounds from which might emerge adult political alienation. Ordinarily, adolescence is a period when hallowed traditions are questioned for the first time, when idols are shattered, when elements of adult skepticism or cynicism are noticed. No longer are adults viewed so awesomely as the bearers of unmitigated justice and wisdom, no longer is the adult world so forbiddingly mysterious and fancifully sacrosanct. The favorable political attitudes of adolescents are shaken when they hear adults talk about "dirty politics," "political hacks," "crooked politicians"; when they become increasingly knowledgeable about the gap between political ideals preached at school, at church, or at home and sordid political practices disclosed in the newspapers, on television, or in informal family discussions. However, it is important to stress that despite obvious "deidealization" and increased sophistication about political matters, most American adolescents retain a generally positive image of government; and like a vast majority of American adults, most American adolescents seldom, if ever, impugn the most basic features of their political order. It appears that the positive tone of early childhood political learning contributes heavily to the general inclination of Americans to consider their political institutions as legitimate. (13, 14)

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[13] The importance and strength of early learning may stem from the high dependency of young children upon adults for basic drive satisfaction. See Part III-B and Part IV for discussion of factors which may modify the early childhood learning of political beliefs.

The positive supportive political beliefs instilled in young children frequently harden into political parochialism and closed-mindedness among adolescents. Considerable evidence has been collected to show that intolerance about political matters, which many American adults manifest, is well-developed among large numbers of adolescents. Numerous American teen-agers are highly ethnocentric and chauvinistic. Often moralistic fervor marks their loyalty to flag and country. (58:73) They rebuke political dissidence and non-conformity -- even to the point of disregarding, or not understanding, First Amendment guarantees. They indicate remarkably little affection for practical implementation of some basic civil liberties presumed to be a traditional part of the American way of life.

These attitudes are well illustrated by H. H. Remmers and associates in Anti-Democratic Attitudes in American Schools.[14] Overall, about one of every five students sampled did not agree with the freedoms written in the Bill of Rights. (36:57) On some issues the proportion of students manifesting "anti-democratic" attitudes was much higher. For example, sixty per cent of a large sample of American high school students agreed that local police should have the right to ban or censor certain books and movies in their cities. As many as forty per cent either agreed or said they probably agreed that, "people who have wild ideas and don't use good sense should not have the right to vote." Forty-three per cent said that books or movies which were "irreligious" or "atheistic" should be banned. Sixty-three per cent were against allowing communists to speak on the radio in peacetime. (77:63-65, 69)

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[14] The studies by Remmers and associates were based upon responses to questionnaires by random samples of from two to three thousand American high school students, which were stratified according to grade, sex, residence, geographical region, religious preference. The questionnaires were prepared and administered by the Purdue Opinion Panel during the 1950's.

Many of the students who rejected certain basic American ideals of freedom in the studies cited above tended to accept the tenets of fascism. These students were disposed toward authoritarianism and ethnocentrism. They agreed that the most important virtues children should learn are obedience and respect for authority; that most children need more discipline; that what our country needs most is a "few strong, courageous, tireless leaders in whom the people can put their faith"; that the very first requirement for good citizenship is obedience and proper respect for authority. (36:36; 61:127)

A definite majority of the students sampled by the Remmers' group reported intense patriotism to the American government and to the "American way of life." They believed, "patriotism and loyalty to established American ways are the most important requirements of good citizens," and "there is nothing lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude and respect for our flag." Many students held that "the American way of life is superior in nearly all respects to any other." (36:40; 61:128)

Many of the American teen-agers, studied by Remmers and associates, manifested considerable prejudice against minority races or ethnic groups. They endorsed racially segregated schools, anti-miscegenation laws, and other restrictions upon close social contact between persons of different races. (77: 69-71; 61:126) These white children were not inclined to favor Negro candidates for public office, although this opposition varied directly with the perceived importance of the office. While most whites typically opposed voting for a Negro candidate for President, Vice-President, governor, mayor, or similarly prestigious offices, they were less opposed to Negro candidates for lesser local or state offices. (46:93-96)

Recent research about the political beliefs of American adolescents, done by M. Kent Jennings and associates of the Survey Research Center, qualifies and adds to the studies of the Remmers' group.[15] (44) In contrast to the studies of adolescents by Remmers and associates in the 1950's, the current crop of high school students appears to be more cosmopolitan in political orientation, less chauvinistic, and more tolerant of political and social diversity. Like the students in the Remmers' study, Jennings' students showed strong positive feelings about the American political system, but many of their supportive beliefs appeared to be less rigid and narrow. Many "cosmopolitan" students in the Jennings' sample were willing to extend fundamental American political principles, such as freedom and equal rights, to minority ethnic groups and to political and social non-conformists.

Jennings reported that the large majority of the seniors in his sample showed more concern for international and national political affairs than for state and local matters. "In the aggregate the students lean much more toward the larger systems and higher levels than toward smaller systems and lower level, more toward a cosmopolitan than a provincial orientation." (44:7-8) The students who revealed a "cosmopolitan" political orientation tended to be more interested in and informed about both specific international affairs and public affairs generally than students who indicated a more "provincial" political orientation. "Politicization and cosmopolitanism occur in tandem." (44: 25)

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[15] Jennings based his conclusions upon responses from a national probability sample of 1,669 twelfth-grade students from 97 secondary schools. (41:2)

Most students (seventy-nine per cent) in Jennings' sample reported more faith and confidence in national government than in state or local government. There was a strong correlation between a student's orientation toward a level of government and the trust expressed in that level of government. The more "cosmopolitan" students indicated a high level of confidence in our national government and low confidence in local government. (44:29-31)

Students who showed a "cosmopolitan" political orientation were inclined to tolerate international political diversity. Less "cosmopolitan" students were less open-minded, and "provincial" students revealed a propensity for chauvinism. This relationship was based upon student agreement or disagreement with the following assertion: "The American system of government is one that all nations should have." Most of the "cosmopolitan" students rejected this statement, while many "provincial" students agreed with it. (44:34-35)

Jennings' "cosmopolitan" students were not as open-minded about domestic, deviant, political and social behavior as they were about alien political systems. Only a moderate relationship was indicated between a "cosmopolitan" political orientation and a general tolerance of non-conforming social and political behavior. This conclusion was based upon student agreement or disagreement with the following statements: 1) "If a person wanted to make a speech in this community against churches and religion, he should be allowed to speak"; and 2) "If a Communist were legally elected to some public office around here, the people should allow him to take office." Even though "cosmopolitan" political orientation and agreement with the above statements was only moderate, Jennings concluded that ". . . there is clearly some linkage again between cosmopolitanism and tolerance of social and political diversity." (44:36)

Another study by Jennings revealed that current civil rights issues were more salient for the twelfth-grade adolescents of his sample than any other "liberty issue." The students in Jennings' sample reported that they discussed civil rights issues more frequently than any other political topics dealing with freedom and rights. Also, the majority of these students cited civil rights and race relations as the "thing they were least proud of as an American." Only six per cent of these students held a definitely anti-Negro belief, while thirty-one per cent were definitely pro-Negro and anti-bigotry. The other respondents indicated "no clear affect" concerning pro- or anti-Negro feelings. In response to a question about "those things they were most proud of as Americans," a majority of the students in Jennings' sample stressed their pride in the American political values of "freedom and rights." This response indicated a general positive orientation toward fundamental American political ideals and toward the American political system. (42:11-15)

One might conclude, based upon the various studies discussed here, that young Americans from early childhood to adolescence have positive feelings about their political system. The process of political socialization has functioned effectively to produce young Americans who accept the fundamental tenets of the American political culture and to maintain political order and stability. Even the "anti-democratic attitudes" of American youth, reported by Remmers and associates, may have contributed to the traditional American political stability. To a considerable extent, they represent conformity to customary practices, to the socio-political status quo.[16] They serve to distinguish a generalized in-group, which is entitled to all privileges of the prevailing political order, from various out-groups, which for sundry reasons do not qualify for some or any of these special rights. Often these "anti-democratic attitudes" are somehow linked to loyalty and devotion to hallowed tradition, to the various symbols of political authority and righteousness, to the precepts of obedience and discipline. Often the most outwardly patriotic Americans are the most ready to prevent extension of traditional civil liberties, the most ethnocentric, the most willing to stress authority and discipline as bulwarks against change. Insofar as these intolerant beliefs do not stimulate underprivileged groups, against whom they are directed, to lash-out violently and destructively against the system, they will not *per se* disturb political equilibrium. But the Negro Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's may represent a portent of the pent-up hostility and resentment against these "anti-democratic attitudes" which could severely imperil our tradition of socio-political stability, of gradual, peaceful, lawful change.

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[16] A recent Harris survey reported a nation-wide tendency (fifty-six per cent of a nationally representative sample) to be generally intolerant of deviant social and political behavior. (28)

The political socialization process in a pluralistic society with democratic aspirations is complicated by conflict between desires to tolerate diversity, non-conformity, and dissent and pressures toward homogeneity, conformity, and orthodoxy. Democracy entails institutionalization of the right to reasonable dissent and toleration of heterodoxy. Protection of the rights of minority ethnic, religious, and political groups is a democratic axiom. Most political scientists agree that characteristics of the "democratic man" are belief in the worth and dignity of individuals, open-mindedness toward different viewpoints and toleration of heterodox values, readiness to accept compromise and change, stress on individual freedom, distrust of powerful authority, disposition to share and cooperate rather than to monopolize or dominate, tendencies to explore and inquire into many values rather than blind acceptance of all-consuming ultimate ends.[17] (10:91) However, any society with democratic aspirations contains pressures that undercut the development of model, democratic political behavior. Every society needs to instill loyalty to state and nation, to sanctioned political values. National cohesion and political stability depend upon conformity to the *status quo*. Consequently, there is always present the possibility that the process of instilling culturally approved political beliefs and behavior (even when toleration for diversity is a culturally approved belief) will block receptivity to particular new and better ideas, will prevent toleration of certain types of diversity, will bring about closed-minded parochialism, and thus, will militate against the realization of certain democratic aspirations.

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[17] This description of the "democratic man" is based upon general agreement found among the writings of political scientists and political philosophers. There is little systematic empirical evidence in support of this description.

The tendency of the political socialization process in America to generate many individuals who express intolerant political beliefs raises some important questions. In a society that aspires to democratic ideals, is mere devotion and conformity to the political status quo sufficient to the attainment of good citizenship? Is skill and disposition to critically examine political ideas and to accept no political or social doctrine as infallible necessary to good democratic citizenship? What should be the place of indoctrination, propaganda, and critical reflective inquiry in the formal political education of American youth? Consideration of these questions is basic to any effort to improve political socialization through formal political education.

III. HOW DO YOUNG AMERICANS ACQUIRE POLITICAL BELIEFS?

In order to improve political socialization through formal political education, one must know how young Americans acquire political beliefs. One needs to ascertain the school's potential for influencing political beliefs, relative to other agents of political socialization, and the extent to which formal education in America achieves this political socialization potential.

In American society, the family and the school appear to be the major forces in political socialization. Here the child's fundamental political viewpoint is molded and the groundwork is laid for adult political behavior. But controversy and indeterminacy persist about the relative influence of home and school in shaping political beliefs and behavior. Also a number of other influences have an impact upon political socialization, such as various peer groups, mass communications media, socio-economic status. Uncertainty prevails about the precise effect of these factors in determining political attitudes and actions.

Controversy about the process of political socialization has focused upon the following questions which have significance for secondary school social studies education:

1. What are the relative contributions of the home and the school to the process of political socialization?
2. How important is early childhood learning in the shaping of political beliefs and behavior?
3. To what extent can formal education alter political values which have been formed in the home?
4. What has been the impact of formal education generally and of specific political education programs in influencing political behavior and beliefs?
5. What strategies appear to be most helpful for improving the political socialization of American youth through formal political education?

Although political socialization research has not yet provided certain answers to these questions, important information has been acquired which can assist social studies educators.

A. The Family As Shaper Of Basic Political Values[18]

The American home has been a bulwark of political stability by inculcating early loyalty to country and government, acceptance of fundamental political norms, and allegiance to one of the established political parties. Before children enter elementary school, they are taught at home to differentiate between private and public sectors of life and to recognize that in public matters the higher authority of government must be respected and obeyed. Through family inter-relationships American children learn a basic orientation to authority which provides a life-long context for political behavior. These family authority patterns tend to generate positive feelings in children toward their immediate home environment, and these positive feelings usually are transferred to the larger world of political affairs. Thus, all social scientists recognize the American family as a primary agency of political socialization.

In American society family authority patterns tend to be relatively permissive and equalitarian.[19] Generally the father is not the sole and over-bearing authority figure that he is in Germany, Japan, or Buganda. Usually the American child has ample opportunity to voice opinions and share in certain kinds of family decision-making. Consequently, occasion for rebellion against family authority is less frequent than in many other societies. Indeed, severe childhood rebellion is far from normal in American society. When such rebellions do occur, they usually do not involve politics, but rather are directed against traditional religious beliefs or social customs.[20] (17:277-280; 41:4; 50:268-282)

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[18] Although this discussion points out the strong influence that the family may have upon political behavior and beliefs, it should not be construed as suggesting that political beliefs and behavior are merely a function of the home.

[19] Robert E. Lane's intensive small-scale research strongly substantiates this discussion of family authority patterns. Lane's research methodology is typical of the intensive in-depth interviews of a very small random sample which is sometimes used in conjunction with or as an alternative to more extensive large-scale random sampling of beliefs via questionnaires. In this case, Lane's sample consisted of fifteen men from an Atlantic seaboard urban area labeled Eastport. (50:1-11)

The typical relatively permissive father-son relationships in American families appear to contribute to the acceptance of political norms, to positive feelings about government, politics, law, political leaders and the American political system. Lane hypothesizes that these father-son relationships typically generate political idealism based upon a positive and optimistic view of human nature and the future of mankind, because American fathers so often represent security, support, friendship, and trust to their children. (50:281-282) By contrast Belgian and French parents usually over-protect and over-direct their children in a manner which makes the outside world seem hostile and treacherous. This appears to contribute to childhood feelings of political distrust and accounts for prevalent negative political attitudes among French and Belgian adults. (75:67-70)

The relatively permissive and equalitarian patterns of authority in American families develop rather widespread potential effectiveness in political participation. Compared to children in other lands, such as Mexico, Italy, or Germany, American children are much freer to speak out about their problems, to criticize their elders, and to participate significantly in family discussions. Extensive opportunity for children to participate in decision-making, to develop poise in articulating an argument, and to gain skills in compromise, can be viewed as a major buttress of American democratic politics. The discouragement of free childhood expression in some other cultures is probably an important explanation for their inadequacy or difficulty in developing or sustaining a democratic political order. (1:346-363)

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[20] Elizabeth Douvan and Martin Gold report, "In the large-scale studies of normal populations, we do not find adolescents clamoring for freedom or for release from unjust restraint. We do not find rebellious resistance to authority as a dominant theme. For the most part, the evidence bespeaks a modal pattern considerably more peaceful (and dull) than much theory and most social comment would lead us to expect." (41:4)

Another important consequence of the authority patterns common to American families is transmission of political party preference from parents to children in much the same way that religious identification is passed on. Most American children are literally born into a political party identification that persists through adulthood.[21] For example, in 1952 seventy-two per cent of the Survey Research Center respondents who reported that both their parents had been Democrats were also Democrats. Sixty-three per cent of the children of Republican parents were Republican. (4:99) This general loyalty to parental political party preference is so strong that neither attractive candidates nor explosive issues will often lead a voter to abandon customary party identification. Only crucial social events, such as a long destructive war or a depression are able to shake large numbers of people away from their family political party traditions. (21:33) An important factor in the persistence of early political party identification is later reinforcement by new reference groups. But individuals socially mobile enough to enter new group associations, that contradict earlier political dispositions, are prone to modify even such solid political preferences as party identity.[22]

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[21] M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Neimi report, based on a study of a nationally representative sample of 1,669 twelfth-grade students and 1,992 parents of these students that, "Parent-student correspondences differ widely depending upon the values considered, with party identification standing highest, though even that value represents a distinct departure from perfect transmission." (41:1)

Political awareness and activity may often stem from parental emulation. For example, American state legislators tend to come from highly politicized families, families in which one or both parents are politically active. Their interest in politics appears to have been generated through intimate and pleasurable family associations, where they were given ample opportunity to gain political experience, where they were stimulated to emulate the political behavior of a respected parent. By contrast, formal courses in high school civics or government do not seem to have much effect in persuading American state legislators to enter political life.[23] (19) The family is also a spawning ground for political campaign workers and party functionaries; most of these individuals come from politicized families. (62:209) Individuals from families where neither parent voted show a great tendency to avoid party attachments; individuals from families where parents did not keep up with political affairs through regular attention to newspapers, news magazines, or news broadcasts also tend to be unaware of and ignorant about politics. (37:68) However, higher education serves to overcome politically limiting family influences. College graduates from non-politicized families are more likely than lesser educated individuals to be well-informed about politics and capable of effective political action.

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[22] See Part III-C for discussion of the influence of socio-economic status upon political beliefs and behavior.

[23] Interviews with a nationally representative sample of American state legislators by Eulau and associates indicated, "Ties with a political party, consciousness of public issues, knowledge of both the serious and pleasurable aspects of political behavior or sense of public responsibility appear as products of political socialization in the most intimate form of primary group life." (19:307) By contrast Eulau reported, "The study of civics, politics or related subjects does not seem to serve as a potent lubricant of political consciousness or interest." (19:308)

Transmission of a pattern of public issue orientations or a political ideology occurs later than party identification and is more open to non-family influences. Ideological orientation and complex issue resolutions call for more political knowledge and awareness than is possessed by the young child. They are removed from the concerns of the child, and are more salient and relevant to adolescents and young adults. Often the family is less influential in the political socialization that takes place at this point -- being replaced by friendship groups, work groups, educational experiences or crucial cultural events. (1:366-374; 37:74) Since the major American political parties generally manifest scant ideological differences, the traditional transmission of party preference from parent to child does not determine a wide range of attitudes about public issues.

Many social scientists have concluded that the foremost agency of political socialization is the home, that the most important source of children's conceptions about political behavior is the inadvertent political learning that takes place in the family, and that the family inculcates basic political beliefs. According to this view other agents of political socialization, such as the school, merely build upon this foundation. Early political beliefs continue to affect political behavior throughout a lifetime. As James C. Davies has stated, "Even the aged citizen who freely and secretly casts his last ballot in an election that presents free alternatives to him is never quite free of those people who have influenced him -- most particularly his childhood family. And the political leader, like all others, likewise remains under the influence of his family background -- if not in the content, then at least in the style of his rule." (11:11) According to this viewpoint, political beliefs tend to be passed from generation to generation in an unbroken chain, and the family is society's primary stabilizing and conservative political force.

The importance and strength of the family as an agent of political socialization is attributed to the great dependence of young children upon adults for basic drive satisfaction. A basic drive, such as hunger, thirst, or sex is an organic tension that creates discomfort. Man is motivated to activity that mitigates or relieves the tension and discomfort. During the long childhood period of physical dependence upon adults for drive satisfaction, the child develops strong emotional attachments to those who care for him. This emotional attachment moves the child to become amenable to social direction and control, and the child tends to accept the adults, who help him to satisfy basic drives, as behavior models.

James C. Davies uses Abraham Maslow's need-satisfaction hierarchy to hypothesize that the family's central role in shaping political values stems from its efficacy in satisfying the child's basic innate needs. According to Maslow's need hierarchy, these are "the physical needs for food, clothing, shelter, health, and safety from bodily harm; the need for love and affection; the need for self-esteem; and the need for self-actualization." According to Davies, "self-actualization" through political activity, or other activity, is not possible until the lower-order needs have been satisfied. Since the family is usually the source of this need satisfaction, it becomes "the central reason that the individual comes to think and act like his family more than he thinks and acts like those who are less relevant to his need satisfactions." Conversely Davies hypothesizes that, "The general political apathy (and transient hyperexcitability) -- the lack of politicization -- that still prevails in most of the world is traceable to the apathy (and transient hyperexcitability) resulting from childhood deprivation of these basic needs within the family." (11:11-13)

Contrary to Davies, Harold Lasswell suggests that entry into political activity serves to compensate for the inadequate way in which personality needs have been met. Lasswell's formula for political man -- "private motives transformed into displacement onto public objects transformed into rationalization in terms of public interests equals political man" -- illustrates his hypothesis that political behavior becomes an outlet for the damaged or disturbed personality that is seeking some sort of withheld compensation or deferred satisfaction. Lasswell further speculates that the pattern of family relationships in childhood leads to either of two basic developmental political types -- the agitator or the administrator. (53)

Recently the traditional stress upon the overwhelming importance of the family in political socialization has been challenged. Robert Hess and Judith Torney have concluded, on the basis of an extensive study of elementary grade children, that in the United States the public elementary school is the most important agent of political socialization. (34) They acknowledged the strong influence of the family, but they suggested that its primary importance is restricted to only a few areas of political socialization, such as promoting early loyalty to country and government and acceptance of certain fundamental and unquestioned cultural political norms.

M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi have just completed a study that suggests that aside from a certain few basic political values in our culture, transmitted by most parents to most children, parental political values are a highly variable and inaccurate guide to the political values of pre-adults. Concerning correspondence between particular political opinions of parents and high school seniors, Jennings and Niemi found that there is only a moderately strong positive correlation on salient, concrete issues and weak or virtually no positive correlation on more abstract and less immediate issues. Concerning attitudes about particular socio-political groupings, such as Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Negroes, Whites, Labor Unions, Big Business, and Southerners, Jennings and Niemi found the correlations between the views of twelfth-grade students and their parents to range from moderately positive to very slightly positive. These low correlations suggest a minimal family influence upon value formation concerning specific issues and groups. (41)

The urban, industrialized character of American society may somewhat account for a restricted family influence upon political behavior and beliefs. In simple agrarian or hunting and gathering societies, the family impact upon political socialization is overwhelming, because the family has a continuing and nearly exclusive access to control over the child's behavior. There is not likely to be extensive value conflict with the society, so that the values of family and non-family groups tend to reinforce one another. Since the family serves as the direct avenue by which the child enters adult society, the values learned in the home tend to be immediately functional and practicable. As an adolescent and as an adult, most individuals continue to live among the adults who socialized them and the peers with whom they were socialized; this continuing association strongly supports conformity to values learned in the home. By contrast, in modern, urban, industrialized societies several basic social forces lessen the family socialization role. Many other specialized social agencies contribute importantly to the socialization process, including the school, the church, the summer camp, and formal youth groups. This away-from-home socialization is often conducted impersonally by relative strangers, toward whom the child usually has relatively weak emotional attachments. The various agencies of socialization in a modern society typically create cross-pressures by teaching conflicting values to the child that may undercut family tradition and values. Individuals tend to be mobile, to live as adults away from the constraining influence of the family and the community in which they were reared. (7:106-112)

The controversy over the relative importance of the home as an agent of political socialization has important implications for formal schooling. If the child's foundation of political values is laid unalterably in the home, then social studies education can do little to affect significantly political beliefs and behavior. But the extent and force of family influence in political socialization has yet to be determined precisely; and new evidence suggests that the family may be less important than other groups or institutions in the shaping of beliefs about particular political issues, in the forming of an ideological orientation toward politics, or in developing ability to participate in political affairs. Also, it appears that for some individuals, or perhaps even for most individuals, the school may gradually assume the major role in political socialization during the elementary grades; and that the school, more than any other factor, may serve to determine an individual's level of political competency.

B. The School and Political Socialization

Public schools in all societies are expected to function as important agents of political socialization by teaching culturally approved political aspirations and roles and stressing love of country and its political institutions. According to V. O. Key, "All national educational systems indoctrinate the oncoming generation with the basic outlooks and values of the political order." (45:316) The schools are also charged with the responsibility of teaching specific political information and skills, such as knowledge about governmental structures and functions and ability to participate in group activities. In a society with democratic aspirations, the ultimate goal of formal political education is the conscious development of characteristics that define the "democratic man."[24]

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[24] See page eighteen for discussion of the "democratic man."

American schools teach political beliefs and behavior both formally and informally, both directly and consciously through planned instruction and inadvertently through casual experiences or chance happenings. Formal courses in history, civics, and government are expected to develop good citizenship. Also, schools observe patriotic holidays and utilize rituals in order to teach respect and love for the nation. The rules of democratic political participation are learned through classroom discussion, committee projects, student government, and school club activities. School teachers and administrators also impart much political learning unconsciously by their styles of behavior, their classroom procedures, and their general attitudes toward children. It is difficult to determine exactly how these school experiences are linked to adult political behavior, but it is probable that they have enormous impact, that they influence some life-long political attitudes.

Much can be learned about the political socialization strategies of American public schools by examining the content of widely used secondary school civics and government textbooks, because textbooks are still the most important instructional materials used in our schools. Recent studies of civics and government textbook content report that the textbooks stress inculcation of "democratic" political beliefs. Considerable space is devoted to prescription of political beliefs that every good "democratic" citizen should have concerning all aspects of group living. They present an optimistic view of American society that glosses over or avoids controversy or criticism about basic features of our political system. Crucial social and political issues relating to such topics as Negro civil rights, crime, juvenile deliquency, birth control, slum clearance, inadequate medical care, hard-core poverty, and drug addiction are either excluded from textbooks or are discussed superficially. The content of civics and government textbooks is highly ethnocentric. The government of the United States is depicted as the world's leading advocate of democracy, morality, and rationality. Alien political systems or ideologies are often shown a priori as inferior or immoral. (63, 79, 82)

Typical textbook discussions of governmental structures and functions concentrate upon legalistic descriptions and ethical prescriptions. They represent ethical-legal norms as actual political behavior, thereby confusing what ought to be with what is. These discussions usually neglect the social foundations of political behavior and the cultural forces that shape political roles and decisions. There is little or no textbook commentary about the relationships between certain kinds of political behavior and socio-economic status, ethnic identity, or secondary group membership. The textbooks have little or nothing to say about basic concepts of political sociology, such as role, status, culture, norms, reference groups, or socialization. (63, 82)

The end-of-chapter questions and suggested activities that appear in all civics and government textbooks emphasize the memorization of facts about government as the key to understanding political affairs. Students are asked to recall or to copy from the textbook such information as the precise legal steps by which a Congressional bill becomes a law, the legal qualifications for becoming President, or the exact wording of the Preamble to the Constitution. Much less attention is devoted to confronting students with issues, with instructing them in methods of reflective thinking and inquiry, with motivating them to use facts effectively to substantiate or to refute political beliefs. (63, 79, 82)

The attitudes and classroom styles of school teachers are important aspects of political socialization in public schools that may tend to reinforce or to undercut the stated objectives of the formal program of political education. For example, a recent study of the political attitudes of public school teachers indicates that many of them are either hostile to or uncertain about many democratic principles. (92) Only twenty-five per cent of elementary teachers and forty-three per cent of secondary teachers responded that police should not have the power to censor books and movies in their cities. Other, similar responses indicated a pattern of authoritarian values and a rejection of certain political ideals of the United States, such as the extension of First Amendment freedoms to social or political nonconformists. (92:477-478)

Many American public school teachers and administrators appear to be unduly preoccupied with maintaining authority over children. For example, George A. W. Stouffer reported that a sample of public school teachers tended to evaluate the behavior of students mainly on the basis of respect for authority and orderly behavior. They tended to be less concerned about withdrawing behavior, because it did not represent a threat to classroom order. (88) Hess and Torney reported that public school teachers which they studied tended to focus upon the importance of authority, obedience to law, and conformity to school regulations and to disregard the importance of active democratic participation. (34:377) On the basis of numerous classroom observations in middle-class urban elementary schools, Jules Henry concluded that the behavior of many teachers appeared to encourage conformity, docility, dependence, and unquestioning obedience. (31) Teachers used inter-group aggression and competitiveness to play-off children against one another in the interest of maintaining a tight grip upon the class. "Thus, in the elementary schools of the middle-class the children get an intensive eight-year-long training in hunting for the right signals in giving the teacher the response wanted." (31:203-204) Edgar Z. Friedenberg concurred that in the interests of maintaining order, enforcing conformity, and wielding authority, many public school teachers and administrators damage or destroy the self-esteem, personal integrity, and individuality of students. (20) Through personal observations in the school, intensive interviews, and a sentence-completion test, Friedenberg studied the attitudes of selected American high school students. He concluded that many students, especially those from lower or working-class families, suffered humiliation, discouragement, and crippled self-concepts, because school systems were geared more toward maintaining authority and exacting obedience than toward building self-esteem and individuality. (20:70-174)

Compared to pre-collegiate students in other societies, Americans do have much more opportunity to participate in classroom discussions and to debate social and political issues. Almond and Verba reported that forty per cent of their sample of adult Americans remembered participating in classroom discussions and debating political and social issues in school. By contrast only sixteen per cent of their British respondents, twelve per cent of the Germans, eleven per cent of the Italians, and fifteen per cent of the Mexicans remembered having had opportunities to participate in classroom discussions and debates. (1:332-334) Nevertheless, under one-half of the American respondents remembered having had freedom to participate in school discussions and debates, which suggests once again that many school teachers have not complied with the official democratic philosophies of education to which virtually all American public school systems publicly subscribe.

The behavioral patterns encouraged by teachers who are preoccupied with maintaining authority are obviously relevant to political socialization. Conformity, docility, and unquestioning obedience in the school can lead to parallel behavior in political situations outside of school. It appears doubtful that typical objectives of formal political education programs, such as development of ability to participate effectively in democratic political affairs or a disposition to honor the worth and dignity of individuals, are served by denigrating student self-esteem in the pursuit of homogenized schoolroom behavior.

The political socialization function of American public schools is complicated by the pluralistic nature of American society. Public schools are charged with the task of helping to develop "good Americans." However, many different views exist about what constitutes a "good American." While most Americans support basic democratic ideals, such as freedom, equality of opportunity, and dignity of the individual, there is often disagreement about specific interpretations of these ideals. For example, the ideal of freedom is interpreted variously by different, but equally loyal Americans, who share positive, supportive feelings about our political system. Some Americans view freedom mainly as a matter of restricting the authority of government to infringe upon certain basic rights of individuals. They consider the role of government to be one of arbitrating disputes, keeping the public order against the threat of anarchy, and protecting private property. By contrast, other Americans see freedom as stemming from extensive intervention of government into the affairs of individuals in order to provide opportunities and rights that these individuals would not enjoy if left to their own unaided efforts. They consider the role of government to be not only that of arbitrating disputes and enforcing laws but also that of administering programs to extend the social and economic opportunities of people.

Public school administrators and teachers are faced with the problem of deciding how to interpret basic American political beliefs as they attempt to socialize children. When there is conflict about specific meanings of basic values, which meaning should the school teach? Public school administrators and teachers often are swayed by community pressures in their efforts to meet this problem. Thus, in some communities certain topics or subjects are either closed to inquiry or are taught in a one-sided manner.

In the Censors and the Schools Jack Nelson and Gene Roberts, Jr. reported the activities of various pressure groups to shape the school curriculum in terms of their biases. They depicted the success of extreme right-wing organizations in excluding from the schools any favorable comment or open-inquiry about the United Nations, socialism, racial integration, or government welfare programs and the influence of civil rights organizations in removing from school libraries those books that they considered insulting to Negroes. (69) On the basis of an extensive study of the teaching of controversial issues in American public schools, John P. Lunstrum concluded, "The social studies still appear to be very much at the mercy of curriculum evangelism and powerful pressure groups." (59:147)

M. Kent Jennings reports that parents are more likely to complain about public school instruction concerning morals, ethics, religion, politics, political ideology, and civil rights than about any other aspect of the content of the formal instructional program. This pattern of parental complaints may stem from the traditional concern of the family in American society with transmitting customary religious and political orientations. (43:26-28) "Instruction in the school -- no matter how oblique -- which threatens to undermine these orientations may be viewed very dimly by parents jealous of this prerogative. Even teaching about presumably objective facts, to say nothing of calling for tolerance of non-conformity or outright pitches for a point of view, may be enough to elicit a grievance. . . ." (43:28) Thus, parental attitudes about politics may limit the scope and style of a school's political education program.

Whatever the limitations or complications of political socialization strategies in American schools, it appears that schools can significantly influence political beliefs and behavior. Numerous studies have indicated a strong, positive relationship between educational attainment and years of schooling and the extent of an individual's political knowledge, toleration of diverse and heterodox political values, and political interest and participation.[25] (56:40) College graduates are more willing than high school graduates to accept fully the implementation of our Bill of Rights. And correspondingly high school graduates more readily support these democratic ideals than do individuals who did not progress beyond elementary school.[26] For example, Samuel Stouffer's nation-wide studies of political opinions showed that sixty-six per cent of college graduates would be willing to allow an opponent of church and religious beliefs to speak openly as opposed to only twenty per cent of those with grade school educations and forty-eight per cent of high school graduates. This response pattern was essentially the same for a great number of items. (89:29-42) The studies of "anti-democratic attitudes" by Remmers and associates, cited previously, indicated a strong connection between acceptance of the Bill of Rights or rejection of racial prejudice and extent of political knowledge, grade level in school, and amount of education completed by parents. (36, 46, 61, 77) Also, the National Opinion Research Center has reported a strong relationship between education, political information, and political activity. College graduates were markedly more well-informed about politics and more willing to participate in political activities than were high school graduates. (21:21) Numerous studies of college students have indicated that seniors are more likely than freshmen to accept political diversity and dissent. For example, a study in 1952 of students in four Ivy League colleges and five public-supported colleges reported a year-by-year increase in the number of students with attitudes that were highly supportive of civil rights. Forty-five per cent of the Ivy League freshmen as compared to sixty-eight per cent of the seniors were highly supportive of civil rights. Thirty-one per cent of the freshmen in public-supported colleges as compared to forty-four per cent of the seniors were highly supportive of civil rights. (3:462) Philip E. Jacob concluded, after an extensive study of the attitudes of college students in the 1950's, that as compared to freshmen, seniors were generally less ethnocentric, more permissive concerning religion and sex, more skeptical of the supernatural, and more critical of the socio-political status quo. (40)

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[25] Seymour M. Lipset says, "If we cannot say that a high level of education is sufficient condition for democracy, the available evidence suggests that it comes close to being a necessary one." (56:40)

[26] A possible explanation for the greater willingness of most college graduates to accept full implementation of American democratic ideals is that they are less likely to feel threatened by certain socio-economic consequences of this implementation. For example, less well-educated working-class people tend to feel threatened by the full extension of equality of opportunity or civil rights to groups lower down on the socio-economic status hierarchy, because they fear that their hard earned and precarious economic gains and social respectability might be menaced by competition from currently less privileged groups. Robert E. Lane's studies of Eastport support this viewpoint. Lane revealed that working-class people tended to fear equality of opportunity and freedom of expression and to partially reject these democratic ideals. (50:26-40, 57-81)

Amount and quality of education appear to be related closely to open-mindedness and flexibility of political beliefs, to readiness to consider or accept new points of view.[27] (60, 70, 76) Indeed, education may be a potent force for the alteration of political values, because through education information is transmitted that may stimulate deviation from family influences or which may provide the groundwork for opinion formation about matters which have not been confronted previously. Through formal education methods of inquiry may be learned that may predispose individuals toward skepticism and criticism of established beliefs that are grounded only upon authority or tradition. If parents have had less education than their children, then education may enable the children to achieve opinions different from parents. Even when parents have had the same amount of formal education as their children, the fact that it was of a "different vintage" means that it has been shaped by the needs and ideas of an earlier period. In this case too, formal education of children helps provide the informational base for deviation from family political values. As Lane and Sears have said, "In one sense children are like the people of traditional societies -- they have the beliefs and prejudices of a single culture, passed on from father to son. Education modifies this. . . . The home and, to some extent, early formal education encapsulate the past; higher education subjects it to scrutiny in the light of different ideas. Thus, if a young person is ready, for whatever reason, to change from the parental model, school, and especially college, facilitate this." (52:25)

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[27] A study by Pressey indicated that college students are more amenable to value change than are high school students. He showed that over the 1923-1943 period societal changes in moral and religious norms had a profound effect on changing values of college students, but did not alter the views of most high school students. (76)

Maccoby studied young adults in Cambridge, Massachusetts and revealed that change from parental political values increases with amount of education. (60)

Theodore H. Newcomb reported, after an intensive study of Bennington College girls, that the "liberal climate of opinion" at Bennington influenced many girls from "conservative," wealthy families to modify their social and political values. (70)

Although most studies have indicated positive relationships between political toleration, open-mindedness, and educational attainment, a note of caution concerning these relationships must be introduced. "Conservative" influences are also part of many college atmospheres. About one out of three students appears to move counter to the "liberal" trend and to develop more "conservative" attitudes while attending college. (16:571) One study in the 1950's even reported that most young adults became more "conservative" while attending college. (3:463) Some social scientists doubt the validity of many attitude studies of college students via questionnaires. They speculate that sophisticated students may learn to subtlely disguise intolerance by giving the expected answers, by becoming "attitude-scale wise." (3:463; 16:567)

The prevailing college climate of opinion appears to have a greater influence upon political behavior and beliefs than formal courses. There is some evidence that college courses in political science do not immediately and directly affect political attitudes. (78) Jacob hypothesized that college communities work with the grain of larger cultural influences and are merely vehicles for communication of new social values. He argued that prior to World War II the attitudes of college students about racial relations were supportive of the status quo, and that only massive efforts by the national government against racial discrimination and segregation (an outside force) induced a change in the attitudes of many college students. (40) The importance of the cultural context and climate of opinion in which education is experienced is also suggested by Karl Bracker's report that one-fourth of the Nazi SS leaders had previously received the doctorate. (48:188)

Having discussed the political socialization function of public schools in American society and the relationship between educational attainment and political attitudes, it is important to discuss the long-term impact of American pre-collegiate education by looking at the political beliefs and behavior of the general adult population. Important objectives of the High school curriculum are teaching information about government and political behavior, transmitting an enthusiasm for political participation, and instilling acceptance of basic democratic ideals. Since a large majority of American adults have attended secondary school, and most have graduated, the long-term impact of the political education program can be measured roughly, in terms of the objectives of instruction mentioned above, through surveys of adult political attitudes.

The schools stress teaching, even memorization, of vast amounts of political information. Keeping abreast of public affairs is emphasized as an important characteristic of a good democratic citizen. What is judicial review? What is an open primary election? How can amendments be made to the constitution? Who is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court? Questions such as these are typically asked in secondary school civics and government courses. However, numerous surveys have documented the political ignorance of the American public, testifying that our formal political education programs have failed to impart a lasting knowledge of governmental functions or a disposition to keep abreast of public affairs. For example, in 1945 eighty-five per cent of an American Institute of Public Opinion sample could identify the ventriloquist's dummy, Charlie McCarthy, but only fifty-one per cent had ever heard of James F. Byrnes, then Secretary of State. (21: 13) Other typical responses reported by the AIPO during the period 1947-1961 were as follows: in 1947 forty-six per cent of a national sample correctly defined the term "tariff"; in 1949 fifty-four per cent were aware of the political significance of a filibuster; in 1951 forty-two per cent could identify the rights guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment; in 1961 thirteen per cent had heard of the European Common Market. (18) During the 1948 Presidential campaign, twelve out of every 100 adult Americans were unaware that Thomas E. Dewey was the Republican candidate and nine out of every 100 did not know President Harry S. Truman was seeking re-election. During the 1948 Presidential election between sixty to seventy per cent of the adult population were completely ignorant of the major political party platforms. (38) In 1960 the Gallup Poll sought to find out public knowledge about the electoral college. Presumably, as public school pupils, most Americans had read about the electoral college and perhaps were even required to memorize the important details about how it functions. Yet only thirty-two per cent of the Gallup Poll sample were able to give some explanation of this institution. (21:14)

The schools persistently emphasize the importance of political participation. Children are taught that good citizens must vote, that they must take part in political party affairs, that they must be watchdogs over the commonweal if democracy is to survive. Yet strong evidence exists that very few American adults have heeded these exhortations. Data collected by Julian Woodward and Elmo Roper in 1950 showed that 10.3 per cent of the adult population could be described as "very active" politically, and that 38.3 per cent were "very inactive." (94:874) These percentages were based upon minimal participation in political activities, such as voting, discussing politics, speaking or writing to public officials, belonging to organizations that engage in public political activity, taking part in elections, and donating money to political campaigns. Public participation in politics does not appear to have increased in the decade following the Woodward-Roper survey. Popular participation in the national election campaigns of 1952 and 1956 was very low. Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes report that only a little more than one-fourth of their sample even bothered to ". . . talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates." Other responses about popular participation in the national political campaigns of 1952 and 1956 were as follows: two per cent in 1952 and three per cent in 1956 reported membership in a political club or organization; four per cent in 1952 and ten per cent in 1956 reported contributing money to a party or candidate; seven per cent in both 1952 and 1956 reported attending a political meeting, rally, or dinner. (4:91) In 1961 the Gallup Poll found that only nine per cent of their sample had written to a U. S. Congressman or Senator during the previous year. (21:11) Numerous Americans do not even perform the basic and relatively undemanding act of voting. Less than two-thirds of the adult population typically votes in a Presidential election. Less than one-half of the adult population typically votes in the off-year congressional elections.

The schools attempt to instill acceptance of basic democratic ideals, such as freedom, equality of opportunity, and the dignity of man. However, large numbers of the adult population do not accept certain ramifications of these basic democratic ideals. For example, a comparison of popular opinion about basic democratic ideals in Ann Arbor, Michigan and Tallahassee, Florida, two university towns, revealed that between ninety-five and ninety-eight per cent of the registered voters in these towns agreed with general statements, such as: "Democracy is the best form of government;" "Every citizen should have an equal chance to influence government policy;" "People in the minority should be free to try to win majority support for their opinions." But many of the same people who showed support for these general principles were not always willing to implement these principles. Thus, seventy-nine per cent of these people agreed that only taxpayers should be allowed to vote in a city referendum to decide the merits of a tax supported project. The right to give an anti-religious speech was rejected by about one-third of the respondents. About two-fifths of the southern respondents and one-fifth of the northern respondents agreed to the statement, "A Negro should not be allowed to run for mayor in this city." (21:8) A recent Harris opinion survey reported that many adult Americans believed that certain types of political and social non-conformists are "harmful to American life." A majority of the Harris sample expressed intolerance of "young men with beards and long hair," "college professors active in unpopular causes." "student demonstrators at colleges," "civil rights demonstrators," "anti-Vietnam war pickets," and "people who don't believe in God." Harris concluded, ". . . no matter how these results are weighed or analyzed, it is apparent that American beliefs in the right to be different are not nearly as firm as some had claimed or as they once were." (28)

The schools do appear to contribute to the developing of long-term positive, supportive political beliefs and to the under-cutting of political alienation and cynicism. The vast majority of American adults express a generalized loyalty to the American political system and a generalized acceptance of American political ideals. Many American adults indicate some political alienation or cynicism, but compared to most other peoples around the world their political attitudes appear quite positive and supportive. Compared to their parents, most American youth, even high school seniors, are considerably less cynical about politics. (41:14) This comparatively positive political outlook of Americans might be somewhat attributed to the extensive efforts which the schools make to glorify the American political system. However, the glorified and optimistic view of the American political system presented by textbooks may be somewhat dysfunctional. It may lead to an increase in political cynicism among young adults as they experience the realities of adult political behavior that may appear sordid and shocking when compared to the purified textbook and classroom versions of politics.

Typical textbooks and teachers prescribe some political conduct that may also be dysfunctional in the real political world. For example, the usual emphasis upon high rates of political activity and independent voting as unquestioned virtues may be misleading. It is possible for a democratically oriented political system to function adequately despite considerable political apathy. Low voting turnout and relatively low levels of public political activity could reflect general popular satisfaction with the status quo and low salience of political affairs for large numbers of people. However, high voter turnout accompanied by frenzied mass political activity could be a threat to stable constitutional government. High voter turnout could be a symptom of breakdown in consensus or serious governmental inadequacy. Extensive, continuous politicization could magnify conflict and reduce compromise and gradual solutions to political problems. High rates of popular political activity in the United States would mean politicization of individuals with relative propensity to espouse authoritarian attitudes, political cynicism, and political intolerance, to prefer strong leaders, to feel inadequate and insecure, and to lack political knowledge. Certainly, these characteristics of American "non-voters" are inimical to democratic ideals identified with the American political system.[28] Social and political disorder followed by an autocratic reorientation of the political system could result from extensive politicization of the typical American "non-voter."[29] (56:226-229)

A high rate of voting is not necessarily inimical to the stability of a democratic political system. Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, and the Scandinavian countries regularly have had higher voter turnouts than has the United States without a decline in constitutional government. Extensive political participation by almost all elements of the American public would probably constitute no threat to democratic ideals, political stability, or constitutional government if the quality of participation reflected a sound understanding of the American political system. Thus, Seymour M. Lipset has said, "To the extent that the lower strata have been brought into electoral process gradually (through increased organization, and upgrading of the educational system, and a growth in their understanding of the relevance of government action to their interest) increased participation is undoubtedly a good thing for democracy. It is only when a major crisis or an effective authoritarian movement suddenly pulls the normally disaffected habitual non-voters into the political arena that the system is threatened." (56:229)

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[28] Many of the characteristics that distinguish non-voters from voters are by-products of low socio-economic status and low educational attainment. See Part III-C for a discussion of the relationship between low socio-economic status and political beliefs and behavior.

[29] Herbert Tingsten has pointed to the very high voter turnouts in Germany and Austria, in the 1930's, prior to the disintegration of constitutional government in these countries. (56:227)

Independent voters in America are also not necessarily paragons of democratic virtue, as textbooks often suggest. Independent voters -- those individuals who do not identify with any political party -- are less informed about politics, less concerned about the outcomes of elections, and less willing to participate in politics than are political party partisans. For example, Campbell and associates found that forty-nine per cent of their sample, identified as independents, were not very concerned with the outcomes of the 1956 national elctions. By contrast only eighteen per cent of those individuals with "strong party identification" expressed lack of concern about the election results. Further, this study suggested that political party partisans are more likely to be politically competent than are independents. The tendency of political independents to be uninvolved in numerous voluntary group organizations also has important political implications. (4:143) Kornhauser has concluded, on the basis of reviewing numerous cross-cultural studies, that social and political isolation makes an individual vulnerable to extremist and authoritarian political appeals.[30] (48)

Controversy persists about the relative importance of the American public school as an agent of political socialization. Social scientists agree that the school plays a major political socialization role. As David Easton has said, "In our society at any rate, schools get the child from at least the age of five and hold him with certain differences for class origins and state legislation until fifteen or sixteen. In that period the schools occupy an increasing portion of the child's and adolescent's day. If for no other reason than that the time at the disposal of educational institutions at this impressionable stage of development is so great, we might expect the impact of political orientations to be of equivalent force." (15:314) Hess and Torney have even hypothesized that the school ". . . is apparently the most powerful institution in the socialization of attitudes, conceptions and beliefs about the operation of the political system." (34:377) However, the relative importance and the extent of the school's impact upon the political values of children is an unsettled question.

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[30] See Part III-C for further discussion of this point.

Research indicates a strong, positive relationship between educational attainment and toleration for political and social non-conformity, political interest and participation, and a high level of political information. But the extent to which formal instruction contributes to tolerance of nonconformity and to high levels of political interest and participation is uncertain. Most political socialization research has not indicated a direct connection between formal instruction about politics and the formation of political attitudes. For example, Horton's studies of high school youth led to the conclusion that formal courses in civics and government have no effect in shaping favorable attitudes toward the Bill of Rights. (36:56) Schick and Somit found that college courses in political science did not increase political interest or participation. (78) Almond and Verba reported a moderate relationship between classroom experiences and political attitudes. Adults who remembered that they could and did participate frequently in classroom discussions had a higher sense of political efficacy than those who recalled that they did not have such classroom opportunities. However, individuals who remembered that they had opportunities to participate in classroom discussions, but that they did not use these opportunities, tended to have even less sense of political efficacy than those who had no such opportunities. This finding suggests that other factors, perhaps the impact of the home and socio-economic status upon self-esteem, were often more important than classroom atmosphere in the formation of political attitudes. (1:352-360) Almond and Verba also suggested a relationship between the content of teaching and an individual's feelings of political competence. Those individuals in their sample, from the United States, Britain, and Mexico, who could remember being taught about politics in school tended to report a high sense of political competence. Respondents from Germany and Italy, who attended school during the period of autocratic Nazi and Fascist rule, did not reveal a connection between instruction about politics and a sense of political efficacy. On the basis of these findings Almond and Verba hypothesized that the autocratic philosophy of education and teaching content that permeated the schools of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were responsible for the lack of relationship between the recall of political instruction and a sense of political efficacy on the part of their German and Italian respondents. However, this hypothesis about the link between the content of political instruction and a heightened sense of political competence is based upon limited data and is very tenuous. (1:361-363)

In the absence of research that indicates a strong direct relationship between formal instruction about politics and the formation of political attitudes, most social scientists have accepted the hypothesis that the school's impact upon political values emanates mainly from its prevailing climate of opinion and educational atmosphere, rather than from its program of formal studies. This conclusion does not necessarily mean that formal political education programs in secondary schools can only reinforce attitudes instilled by other agents of political socialization. The lack of impact that formal political instruction appears to have had upon the formation of political attitudes could derive mainly from inadequate methods of teaching and course content. It is also possible that formal political education programs that require individuals to critically examine their political ideas could lead to a long-run modification of political beliefs. Perhaps germinal political ideas implanted during adolescence might flower during adulthood -- especially if these ideas were reinforced by later experiences. However, at present there is very little evidence to support this speculation due to lack of longitudinal studies of political beliefs.

The qualitatively different educational climate of the typical American college or university may also be a significant factor in explaining why the strong positive relationship between exposure to higher education and political tolerance, interest, and participation does not extend to those who have not been educated formally beyond high school. Compared with most high schools, the typical college community is much less subject to public pressures and constraints. It is more heterogeneous in population and cosmopolitan in outlook. It is more conducive to inquiry and open-mindedness. Perhaps the characteristics of academic freedom and cosmopolitan outlook contribute extensively to the fostering of political interest and participation and "democratic" political attitudes. Perhaps high school political education programs would have a greater influence upon the formation of "democratic" attitudes if they were conducted in an atmosphere more conducive to inquiry and open-mindedness.

C. The Impact of Socio-Economic Status, Sex Identity, Youth Groups, and Mass Communications Media Upon Political Beliefs and Behavior

The political beliefs and behavior of young Americans vary considerably according to socio-economic status. In any society people can be differentiated according to social position. On the basis of factors, such as wealth, occupation, educational attainment, place of residence, and membership in social and civic organizations, people see themselves, and are seen by others, to have more or less status than others, to have a higher or lower social position relative to other individuals. A family's social position greatly affects political socialization by governing the ways in which culture is transmitted to children.

Child-rearing practices, school experiences, and peer group relationships are likely to vary considerably according to socio-economic status. At home and school, middle and upper-class children tend to have ample opportunity to assert themselves constructively, to express feelings and ideas, to acquire intellectual and social skills necessary for leadership, to gain the confidence and poise essential to effective political action. Middle-class parent-child relationships usually tend to be equalitarian. When disciplining their children, middle-class parents usually rely upon reason, appeals to guilt, isolation, or threats to withdraw love rather than upon physical punishment. Middle-class parents tend to tolerate their children's expressed impulses and desires and to expect their children to assume certain responsibilities around the home at an early age and to do well in school. Upper and middle-class child-rearing patterns foster positive attitudes about political participation and about political efficacy. (2:54; 65:80-89, 152-158)

By contrast, lower or working-class children are often inhibited by over-strict authority patterns at home and at school, by psychic and economic insecurity, and by lack of opportunity for an adequate formal education. Working-class parent-child relationships revolve around parental efforts to enforce order and obedience. Physical punishment and ridicule are the usual disciplinary methods. Hostility, aggressiveness, tension, and severity tend to prevail in the child-parent relationships in working or lower-class homes. (2:54; 65:80-89, 152-158) Thus, Robert E. Lane has said, "Child-rearing practices in the lower-status group tend to provide a less adequate personality basis for appropriately self-assertive social participation." (51:234)

The major limitations of political education programs in schools with mostly higher-status children are magnified in the schools that serve the lower classes. Curriculum content experienced by the lower-status child is geared toward the simple and direct indoctrination of the cliches of Americanism and the prescription of idealistic virtues as viewed from middle-class perspectives. A strong effort is made to infuse these marginal children with the moral precepts of our society's middle-class elements. Political education programs are devoid of information about the realities of government functions or political behavior and are scarcely relevant to the needs of underprivileged youth. Lower-status children are not given an understanding of how the political system can help them to achieve desired socio-economic objectives. Usually, the educational climate is authoritarian in schools with predominately lower-status children. Such children are not encouraged to readily or freely express their own opinions, to participate in decision-making activities, to assume important responsibilities at school, or to think critically or divergently. (20, 57)

The usual, politically relevant consequences of lower-status child-rearing patterns are diminished self-esteem, authoritarian orientations to authority, reduced control of hostile impulses, increased anxiety and tension, and alienation from public political institutions. Thus, lower-status individuals tend to believe that they cannot successfully influence political decisions, to feel incompetent to assume leadership, to defer passively to established authority, to unthinkingly accept the domination of others, to feel inadequate to cope with social forces that appear overwhelming, and to adopt an apathetic, fatalistic attitude toward life. (22:94-106) Higher rates of homicide, crimes of assault, and wife-beating, associated with the lower social levels, are also politically relevant reflections of lower-status child-rearing patterns. (65:152)

Authoritarianism, closed-mindedness, and intolerance of social and political non-conformity or ethnic diversity increase with decreasing socioeconomic status. For example, Stouffer found that sixty-six per cent of a sample of individuals classified as professionals or semi-professionals expressed tolerance with respect to civil liberties issues as compared to thirty per cent of a sample of manual workers and twenty per cent of a group of farm workers. (89:139) Robert E. Lane concluded from his Eastport study that, in American society, the professional classes were the staunchist defenders of the ideals of freedom and equality for all men. By contrast, working-class people tended to fear equality of opportunity and freedom of expression and to partially reject these democratic ideals. (50:26-40, 57-81) Harris reported recently that sixty-four per cent of the individuals in his sample earning less that $5,000 per year were intolerant of non-conformist social or political behavior as compared to forty-six per cent of those earning over $10,000 per year. (28) Roy E. Horton's studies of American secondary school students indicated that pupils who tended to espouse "Anti-democratic" political attitudes came from families with lower income and educational levels. (36:56-58) These findings appear to belie the Marxist's notion that workers are natural repositories of "liberal" socio-political sentiments.

Although lower-status individuals tend to oppose "liberal" attitudes about civil liberties, they favor "liberal" economic reform and social welfare programs. At higher socio-economic levels economic "liberalism" decreases and civil liberties "liberalism" increases. Since the Democratic Party has supported "liberal" economic reforms more often than the Republicans, most lower-status Americans tend to favor the Democrats, and most upper-status Americans tend to favor the Republicans. (45:121-181) This relationship is affected, however, by the prevailing opportunities for social mobility. Seymour M. Lipset has hypothesized that, "The more open the status-linked social relations of a given society, the more likely well-paid workers are to become conservatives politically. . . . In a more closed society, the upper level of the workers will feel deprived and hence support left-wing parties." (56:254)

Political interest and involvement declines with decreasing socio-economic status. Hyman reported that eighty-six per cent of a sample of children from upper-income families followed the Presidential election of 1952, as compared to fifty-eight per cent of the children from families with low incomes. (37:35) Differences in political interest and involvement according to socio-economic status are noticeable during the early school years and grow as the child matures. Woodward and Roper found that most upper socio-economic status individuals, such as executives, professionals, stockholders, college graduates, rated "very active" on their index of political participation. Most lower socio-economic status people, such as laborers, Negroes, and those with only grade school education, were rated "very inactive" politically. (94:877)

Lower-status people, who do not participate in political affairs, are usually uninvolved in volunatry organizations and general community activities. They tend to be social isolates. William Kornhauser has attempted to assess the political implications of this social isolation. (48) He reports that people with few social links to the community are less prone to community or self control. They lack exposure to information on which to base sound judgments, practice in habits of democratic discussion, debate, and compromise, and understanding of the importance of guarding civil liberties. Although social isolates are unlikely to be involved in community controversy, they tend to be immoderate, irrational, and unsophisticated when mobilized to public participation. They are especially receptive to extremist appeals that reduce public controversy to simple either/or terms. For example, workers in relatively isolated jobs -- occupations associated with one-industry towns or areas -- such as fishermen, miners, maritime workers, or forestry workers, show higher rates of support for communism than workers more in touch with social cross-currents. Unskilled workers or the unemployed are usually isolated from the larger community and are susceptible to extremist appeals that promise clear-cut solutions to their problems. Thus, Kornhauser has hypothesized that lower socio-economic status people are more receptive to extremist appeals than are upper socio-economic status people. However, ". . . it is the more isolated members of all social classes who gravitate toward mass movements. People who have few social ties to the existing order are available for political adventures against that order. The individual's vulnerability is not determined by economic interests alone; the crucial question is whether the individual has attachments to occupation, association, and community. The reality of democratic affiliations either impinges upon him through these affiliations or not in any firm way." (48:220-221)

The political socialization process also varies significantly according to sex identity. In American culture boys are expected to be more aggressive, competitive and active than females. Politics is normally thought to be men's business, and men are expected to be more interested, informed, and active in political affairs than are women. Normally, American women are expected to be passive, non-aggressive, apolitical followers of male political leadership.

At home and school these distinct male and female political roles are inculcated. Thus, even at the fourth-grade level boys are more politically informed than girls, and they tend to show more interest in learning about politics in social studies courses. Also, both boys and girls say that they are more likely to choose the father rather than the mother as an appropriate source of advice about voting. (22:115-118)

Politically relevant role distinctions between males and females continue into adulthood. Generally, American men are more likely to participate in political affairs than women. This includes the acts of voting and communicating with elected representatives. Numerous studies over a fifty-year period have thoroughly documented the political passivity of American women -- that they are less informed, less interested, and less active politically than males.[31] (22:109-188) Females tend to have less of a sense of political efficacy than males. Campbell and associates reported that in 1952 thirty-five per cent of the males in their sample felt very efficacious as compared to twenty per cent of the females. (5:191) And when females do show political interest, it is more likely to be about local community affairs rather than about national or international politics. Females also tend to be candidate-oriented in elections, to personalize political issues, and to favor public office-seekers and policies oriented toward conservative moral principles. (51:213)

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[31] Further evidence of the inferior role ascribed to women in American political culture is that as recently as 1963, fifty-five per cent of a national sample said that they would not vote for a woman Presidential candidate. (22:111)

Recent evidence suggests that male-female differences in political participation are lessening. The usual gap between male and female voting turn-out in national elections has narrowed to around ten per cent. In some suburban communities with predominately upper socio-economic status populations there is virtually no sex differential in voting rates. (51:210-211) In 1952 Campbell and associates also found almost no difference between males and females as to "sense of civic duty." Forty-four per cent of their sample of males felt a high "sense of citizen's duty" as compared to forty-two per cent of the females. (5:197)

Although the home and school dominate the political socialization of American children, a number of other forces have an ancillary role in molding political beliefs and behavior. Prominent among these secondary forces are the possible influence of youth groups or mass communications media. Friendship and youth organizations tend to exert an increasing influence as the child matures. Discussion of politics with friends increases considerably during the high school years, although the frequency of political discussion with parents also increases. (37:101) But if friendship groups stress values which conflict with parental views, there exists the possibility for deviation from family values. This is especially so when a child is resentful of parental control. In such cases, friendship groups usually exert more influence than parents. Young people also tend to be more responsive to peer group control than to parental influences concerning attitudes that are of great immediate personal importance. Since political affairs are relatively less salient for most young people than many other matters, they tend either to accept parental political attitudes or to be indifferent to them. However, for those who seek alternatives to family political values, friendship groups may exert a strong socialization influence. (52:27)

Youth organizations do not play the highly partisan political role in the United States that they play in some other nations. In West Germany and France church youth groups, labor union youth clubs, and socialist youth organizations have a strong influence in shaping particular partisan values. Since children are typically enrolled into these groups by parents, they do serve to reinforce family beliefs. In the United States, the common youth organizations tend to reinforce broad norms of the political culture; but, in contrast to German and French youth clubs, they tend to be apolitical insofar as making overt partisan efforts to propagandize or proselytize in favor of a particular political party. For example, American Boy Scout groups may attempt to instill certain patriotic virtues, Christian morals, and democratic procedures, but they sedulously avoid political party partisanship. (8, 68:166-167) Most youth organizations in American society serve to buttress the socio-political status quo. "In short, the members of all these organizations learn what is expected of them as ideal American citizens. By the bye, they may also learn many unintended facts, but the leaders do their best not to teach them contrary notions." (68:167)

Those who have feared the imminence of a "Big Brother" controlled society, or who have shuddered at the prospects of a "Power Elite" with the potential to control thought through monopoly of mass communications media should be relieved at the findings of researchers about the impact of American mass media in the formation of values. The mass media usually do not appear to directly affect the values of Americans. Rather, their influence is normally mediated by primary and secondary groups. These group mediators selectively interpret the mass media communications for individuals, and this mediating interpretation serves to reinforce values already sanctioned by family, friends, and voluntary organizations. Strong attachment to a group disposes individuals to allow group norms to determine their responses to communications. (47, 51:289-294)

Political information transmitted through the mass media is most likely to influence individuals if they perceive it to be useful in solving pressing problems, in gaining the approval of respected individuals or reference groups, or in relieving psychic tension. (51:294-298) In addition, the mass media seem to have potency for opinion formation among social isolates or about issues that are fresh and for which there is no ready frame of reference within the culture. When the mediating factors are for some reason inoperative or in favor of change, the mass media may also directly influence value formation. The attitudes of people affected by cross-pressures tend to be unstable and are particularly susceptible to conversion. But as Joseph Klapper has stressed, "Mass communication ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences." (47:457)

The mass media tend to influence politicization. Exposure to the mass media is related to increased political interest and participation. And politicized individuals show a propensity to seek information communicated by the mass media. However, in some ways the mass media appear to discourage political action. They may distract individuals from serious political concerns with "diversionary content," such as comics, sports pages, and women's pages. They may treat certain crucial social problems superficially and thereby weaken interest in these problems. They often fail to win the confidence of certain groups. For example, working-class people tend to lack confidence in the press. Democrats generally share this lack of confidence as contrasted to Republicans. Overall, however, exposure to the mass media is related to increased interest in politics, higher rates of voting, membership in community organizations, higher levels of political information, stronger views about political issues, stronger candidate preferences, and closer adherence to a political party position. (51:281-289)

IV. HOW IMPORTANT IS EARLY CHILDHOOD LEARNING IN THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL BELIEFS?

Uncertainty prevails about the exact impact of early childhood learning upon adult political beliefs and behavior. Greenstein, Easton, and Hess place great stress upon the strength of early learning. Greenstein has said that early childhood learning is highly resistent to change, and that later learning is more susceptible to change. He has attributed the strength of early learning to the immature child's uncritical approach to learning, to his tendency to learn through identification and imitation, and to his relatively plastic personality structure. "Social and political learning which takes place at this point can become a part of the individual's basic psychic equipment." (22:81) Early learning has a crucial effect upon later learning; it conditions the individual's attitudes toward politics throughout his adult life. (22:79-84)

Easton and Hess share Greenstein's viewpoint about the acute importance of early childhood learning in shaping adult political beliefs and behavior. They have hypothesized that the period between ages three and thirteen is the crucial time for political socialization. ". . . it is apparent that the elementary-school years rather than the high school years present the crucial time for training in citizenship attitudes and the wider range of behavior we have called political socialization." (33:264) This hypothesis was based upon comparative studies of high school and elementary school pupils. The studies led to the conclusion that little change in "basic political orientations to regime and community" took place during the four years of high school. Easton and Hess acknowledged that most individuals increased their store of information about government and political behavior during the four high school years. However, they found little evidence that fundamental, political attitudes and values concerning the regime and political community were modified during later adolescence. (14:33) "While there was evidence of some change during the high-school years, the magnitude of accumulated attitudes apparent in the freshmen classes indicated that the process of political socialization had been underway for some time and was nearing completion." (33:258-259)

Cohen, Almond, Verba, and Jennings have also agreed that early childhood learning is very important to personality development, that it may be very resistant to change, that it influences later learning, and that it is likely to have a strong impact upon adult political beliefs and behavior. However, they have contended that some basic political values may be subject to modification during adolescence and adulthood. Cohen has said that social and political values learned during early childhood are unlikely to change if beliefs learned at home are consistently reinforced outside the home. This situation prevails in simple, static, primitive, and/or agricultural societies, where the family has a continuing and nearly exclusive access to control over the individual's behavior, and where there is an obvious and direct relationship between values learned at home and behavior in the larger adult community. However, Cohen has argued that in an industrialized, urbanized, dynamic society much learning takes place outside the home. The family no longer has a nearly exclusive control over socialization, and much away-from-home learning does not reinforce traditional family values. Rather it may create cross-pressures that preclude any deeply rooted commitment to a traditional, unitary, closed belief system. Traditional family values may be dysfunctional in a rapidly changing society that is continually being altered by unanticipated events. Socio-economic forces in a dynamic society tend to encourage physical and social mobility, which move individuals away from the constraining influences of their childhood homes and which motivate aspirations that deviate from traditional family values. For example, children who aspire to move up the socio-economic status hierarchy repudiate the values of lower-class parents, and many second generation children of immigrant parents reject their traditional family values. In modern American society children tend to grow away from parental influences as they mature, because they are influenced by fresh contacts outside the home in a rapidly changing culture. (7:106-112) Thus, Cohen has hypothesized that in the United States, or in any other modern industrialized society, much childhood socialization is subject to fundamental modification, because it takes place outside the home. ". . . those things which are learned outside the home are much more susceptible to change than those which are learned from parents at home." (7:111-112)

Almond and Verba have contended that in a modern, pluralistic, industrialized society roles learned within the family do not directly transfer to successful participation within the larger society and that away-from-home socialization can modify or supplant early childhood learning. They have focused upon adolescence and young adulthood as important periods of political socialization, because at these times participation in school activities, voluntary organizations, and job activities is more relevant to political concerns than is early childhood socialization in the family or school. Their cross-cultural studies revealed that adults who remembered having had opportunities to participate in discussions and decision-making at home, at school, and at work were more likely to have a sense of political efficacy than adults who recalled no such participatory opportunities. However, this relationship was strongest among respondents with low educational attainment. Individuals with higher education attainment tended to express a sense of political competence that was independent of recalled opportunities to participate in discussions and decision-making at home or school. Thus, Almond and Verba suggested that exposure to higher education may compensate for lack of family and school participatory experiences during early childhood, because it may develop participatory skills and inculcate participatory norms. For example, college-educated individuals are often induced to show interest and efficacy in political affairs by various social pressures and expectations. Almond and Verba also found that there was a strong positive relationship between opportunities to participate in decision-making at one's place of work and one's sense of political efficacy. On the basis of these cross-cultural findings, they concluded that participatory experiences closer in time and form to the operation of a society's political system may tend to outweigh the impact of early childhood political socialization concerning attitudes about political interest, involvement, and competency. "Family experiences do play a role in the formation of political attitudes, but the role may not be central; the gap between the family and the polity may be so wide that other social experiences, especially in social situations closer in time and in structure to the political system, may play a larger role." (1:373) Almond and Verba argued that the authority patterns experienced by adolescents and adults in voluntary organizations, in school, and in places of work were crucial to the political socialization process and may modify early learning, because they tend to be more similar to authority patterns in the political system than are family authority patterns. Therefore, despite the influence that early childhood learning may have upon adult political behavior through its impact upon the formation of basic personality characteristics, numerous other factors may intervene between early childhood socialization and later political behavior that may restrict or even replace early learning. (1:323-373)

Jennings also accepts the importance of early childhood socialization. He has agreed with Greenstein, Easton, and Hess that certain basic political values, such as general loyalty toward country and government, stem mainly from early childhood learning at home and school. However, he has hypothesized that many important political attitudes are prone to fluctuate considerably, that post-childhood socialization and resocialization are very significant in the formation of certain kinds of political orientations and beliefs. This conclusion was based upon comparative studies of high school seniors and their parents that suggested a minimal family influence upon value formation concerning particular issues, groups, and levels of government. Jennings found either weak or virtually no positive correlation between the attitudes of twelfth-grade students and their parents concerning certain abstract issues pertaining to freedom and equal rights, affect for particular ethnic, religious, or economic groups, and orientations toward multiple levels of government. Jennings suggested that these divergencies may be explained by generational differences, life-cycle effects, or some combination of these two factors. Generational differences result from discrepancies in pre-adult socialization of parents and their children. In response to changing social conditions parents may consciously raise their children much differently than they were raised, or the transmission of parental values to children may be undermined by socialization agencies outside the home that reflect cultural forces contrary to family traditions. Life-cycle effects refer to the impact of post-adolescent socialization in modifying or replacing earlier attitudes. Adults may be subject to various social pressures relating to particular socio-economic conditions and to aspirations that can alter values acquired during childhood or adolescence. (41, 42, 44)

Additional evidence in support of the hypothesis that the adolescent and post-adolescent periods can be important times for the shaping of political values has been provided by Theodore M. Newcomb and Robert E. Mainer.[32] Newcomb's study of the change of political values of Bennington College girls, attributed to being immersed in a very liberal "climate of opinion" offers a solid argument in support of the idea that the shaping of some basic political beliefs continues beyond age thirteen. Most of the girls which Newcomb studied in the late 1930's came from wealthy, conservative, Republican families. After four years of exposure to Bennington, most of these girls acquired more liberal viewpoints. A follow-up study by Newcomb in the 1960's showed that for the most part the girls retained their liberal views. (70) Further, Robert E. Mainer has reported the effectiveness of "intergroup education programs" in altering socio-political beliefs of high school pupils. These "intergroup education programs" consisted of depth studies about minority groups in American culture, alien cultures, and world religions. After a five-month exposure to intensive "intergroup education," high school youth became more opposed to social discrimination against racial or ethnic minorities and more supportive of ideals and practices aimed at easing the social difficulties of minority groups. The greatest attitude changes occurred among twelfth-graders. (61:144-154) Thus, Mainer hypothesized that, ". . . intergroup programs capitalize upon the dramatic changes in attitudes that occur in the youth of our society in late adolescence and early adulthood. A program which attacks undesired attitudes and offers new ones to replace them appears to be most effective when traditional ideologies are under evaluation and change." (61:146-147)

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[32] See Part III-B for discussion of the relationship between higher education and political values.

Questions about the impact of early learning upon adult political beliefs and behavior and about when the most important period of political socialization occurs remain unsettled, despite the persuasive Easton-Hess studies that have suggested that the period from ages three to thirteen is the optimum time for political socialization. Social scientists agree that early learning is very important in the shaping of personality characteristics that continue to influence political beliefs and behavior throughout adulthood. The pre-adolescent period does seem to be the time when some basic orientations to the political system are developed, and these orientations may be highly resistant to change. However, evidence exists that indicates the importance of post-childhood socialization in building upon, or even modifying, earlier political orientations. Attitudes about political efficacy, multiple levels of government, socio-economic groups, and certain political issues appear to fluctuate considerably, to be subject to post-childhood socialization or resocialization. Conclusive evidence has not been marshalled to rule out the importance of adolescence and young adulthood as key periods for forming some basic political values.

V. CONCLUSION

The recent findings of political socialization research have added considerably to our knowledge of the content of the political beliefs of young Americans, and they have provided the grounds for reasonable speculation about the process by which these beliefs are acquired. These findings appear to have some important implications for political education programs in secondary schools. Some of these implications have been mentioned or alluded to in several parts of this essay. Indeed, a main criterion for selection of studies to be reviewed was the extent to which they appeared to be related to the concerns of secondary school political education. However, as Greenstein has noted, ". . . there are . . . rather knotty problems in moving from the findings in a body of empirical research to their implications for practical programs." (23:1) Prominent among these "knotty problems" are the difficulties involved in establishing relationships between studies with similar concerns but with divergent research designs that reflect dissimilar techniques and unequal quality, in making generalizations that cut-across these qualitatively different studies, in sorting out discrepancies and conflicting conclusions, and in resisting tendencies to over-value findings that agree with preconceived notions and ideological preferences. Acknowledgement of these difficulties should serve as a reminder that many present conclusions in the field of political socialization are very tenuous.

In and of themselves, the findings of political socialization research do not prescribe new and improved political education programs for secondary schools. But they point to some crucial educational problems; they help to narrow the range of possible alternatives to these problems; and they raise some very basic questions about past practices and future possibilities in political education.

Perhaps the most acute educational problem reflected by political socialization research is the proclivity of our schools to approach the task of political socialization in a one-sided manner, especially in schools serving mainly lower or working-class children. The schools reinforce and develop strong positive, supportive attitudes toward state and nation. Most American children learn well the lessons of conforming to the socio-political status quo. Certainly the schools may contribute substantially to national strength and stability when they impart supportive political orientations. As Friedenberg has asserted, "The most important social process taking place in our schools is learning to be an American. . . . For us conformity is a moral mandate." (20:92) These tendencies in American society toward maintaining socio-political orthodoxy and enforcing mass conformity were noted over a century ago by Alexic de Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill, who thought that these tendencies were powerful enough to merit the pejorative label, "tyranny of the majority." (67, 90) Current research merely substantiates and deepens our understanding of this long-standing phenomenon.

However, certain consequences may flow from overemphasis upon conformity that are inconsistent with many of the professed objectives of American public schools and with certain democratic ideals. For example, overemphasis upon conformity appears to be associated with authoritarian school atmospheres where docile children are prized above active, deeply probing thinkers; where strict adherence to authoritative pronouncements is preferred over student inquiry into pressing, socio-political concerns; where strict obedience to rules is stressed to the exclusion of inquiry into the need for rules. This may contribute to some unanticipated and undesired consequences for adult political behavior such as alienation or cynicism, dispositions to passively accept authority, and tendencies to be intolerant of reasonable political dissent or non-conformity. Certainly social forces other than the school may contribute to these types of political behavior, such as the present quality of life in lower-class homes and neighborhoods. But since the school's climate of opinion and educational atmosphere appear to be more influential in shaping political attitudes than does its formal programs of instruction, it is possible that an authoritarian school environment may subvert textbook and teacher prescriptions of democratic political values and that it may contribute to the hardening of political beliefs and to a closed-minded resistance toward alternative or unorthodox points of view.[33]

Edgar Z. Friedenberg and Margaret Mead have attributed this one-sided approach to political socialization of many American schools in part to their past function of assimilating waves of southern and eastern European immigrants to the American way. The schools attempted to produce allegiance to nation and state, to develop a standard orthodox approach to political affairs, and to make industrious, hard-working, obedient citizens of their unsophisticated wards. In short, the process of Americanization, as conducted in our public schools, was largely homogenization. Friedenberg and Mead have applauded the schools for a job well done in helping to assimilate our immigrants. However, they have criticized the schools for continuing to function as if their main task was to stir the melting pot long after the need has passed for such mixing on a massive scale. (20:72-95; 66:314-317) Mead has argued that it is dysfunctional in our dynamic industrialized society to inculcate devotion to some long-standing, but out-worn, traditions that may no longer fit present circumstances. She has suggested that a primary function of modern schools should be to teach children to cope with ever-present change. (66:319-320)

Another factor that may contribute to the ossification of political attitudes is that commitment to political beliefs in early childhood precedes knowledge of relevant political information, that early learning is based mainly upon emotional attachments rather than knowledge. Later cognitive learning often serves merely to reinforce these early commitments, to provide rational justification for a closed system of basic beliefs rather than reflective examination of tentatively held viewpoints.

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[33] Kurt Lewin has reported studies by R. Lippitt and R. White of autocratic and democratic learning atmospheres that support these conclusions. Children placed in a "democratic climate" tended to be relaxed, cooperative, constructive, and to develop a stable group structure. By contrast, children placed in an "autocratic social climate" tended to be anxious, uncooperative, passive toward authority, and hostile toward easily identifiable scapegoats. From these experimental results Lewin generalized "that the conduct of an entire population can be changed overnight rather deeply if the change in its social situation is sufficiently great." (55:464)

The tendencies of many Americans to exhibit political closed-mindedness, political apathy, political ignorance, and political intolerance, and the possibility that climates of opinion and educational atmospheres in our public schools may somewhat contribute to these tendencies, raises several important questions for social studies educators. Should young Americans be taught to critically inquire into all political traditions as the basic means for mitigating the above tendencies? If so, when is the appropriate time to formally initiate such inquiry? How can methods of critical inquiry be taught so as not to undermine loyalty to the political system, so as not to create alienation or cynicism? What place, if any, should indoctrination or propaganda have in an inquiry oriented school? Is it ever justifiable to indoctrinate children with basic political norms? Can formal instructional programs based upon techniques of reflective thinking and critical inquiry directly influence political values in the direction of political interest and tolerance?

Research has indicated that formal programs in political education do not have much impact upon the formation of political values. Is this mainly due to poor quality of instruction or inadequate course content? Persistent attempts to inculcate political values through textbook and classroom exhortations and prescriptions appear to have little or no positive influence upon political beliefs and behavior. Can persistent emphasis upon engaging the learner in active inquiry lead individuals to adopt new political orientations? Is it possible that formal political education programs that require individuals to reflectively examine their political beliefs could have a long-range impact upon political values, an impact that would not be discernable immediately, but that would show up at a much later time? Is it possible to sow the seeds in public school classrooms for later reformation of political attitudes, assuming that these "seeds" are reinforced by later experiences?

Research has indicated that most American children acquire strong positive, supportive attitudes about their political system and nation at an early age, and that most American adolescents and adults retain this generalized basic loyalty to state and nation, even in the face of contrary influences. Does this finding suggest that high school social studies teachers do not need to be mainly concerned with inculcating loyalty to state and nation? Does it indicate that teachers should not omit or gloss over controversial subjects on the grounds that this censorship protects students from sordid realities that could weaken their positive, supportive political orientations?

Most Americans do not appear to be very aware of the political attitudes they absorb from their culture, the process by which these attitudes are absorbed, or the consequences that may stem from holding these attitudes. The content of typical civics and government textbooks certainly does not contribute to this awareness. This lack of understanding of the political socialization process very likely produces rigidity, closed-mindedness, and political intolerance. Individuals who are ignorant of the cultural forces that shape them are likely to become enslaved by these forces. Would formal instruction about the process of political socialization mitigate closed-mindedness and increase devotion to democratic ideals? Would an understanding of the functions of political socialization, its significance, and its possible consequences enable individuals to exercise more effective control over their political decisions, to be somewhat more free and flexible in their political choices?

Another educational problem indicated by political socialization research relates to the political apathy and authoritarianism of many lower and working-class people. Would politicizing such individuals disrupt our political stability? How can the schools contribute to mass politicization without contributing to severe political disruption? Can the schools help to overcome the politically debilitating and destructive effects of family and neighborhood life among lower socio-economic status individuals?

The somewhat inadequate and superficial content of typical social studies textbooks suggests other questions upon which political socialization research might shed some light. To what extent does inadequate course content create discontinuities for young people between the artificial political world of the social studies classroom and the real political world? To what extent are these discontinuities debilitating to political competence? To what extent do social studies courses teach information that is dysfunctional in the adult political world? Would the addition to civics and government courses of basic concepts from the behavioral sciences make these courses more practicable?

Research indicates that young children become aware of first the national government, then local government, then state government. Yet many current social studies programs are built in line with the expanding environment curriculum plan, which requires the child to study first the neighborhood, then the local community, then the state, then the nation, and finally other nations. Should children study national government at an earlier age? Should study of national government or of alien political systems precede study of the neighborhood and city? Would these changes more adequately meet the interests of children?

Careful consideration of these questions raised by political socialization research is a prerequisite to any substantial efforts to improve political socialization strategies through formal education. Certainly many of these questions have been raised before, and school systems function on the basis of various responses to these questions. However, the findings of political socialization research, even in their present inchoate form, may lead educators to question some of the assumptions upon which these responses are based.

It is beyond the scope of this essay to offer thoroughgoing answers to the previously stated questions, although this writer's dispositions concerning answers to many of the questions have been suggested or alluded to throughout the essay. These dispositions reflect liberal democratic political attitudes that have permeated the intellectual history of Western man. The continuing strength and vitality of American society is viewed as stemming from our democratic aspirations, such as the ideals expressed in our Bill of Rights. Therefore, this writer deplores any aspects of the political socialization process, as it functions in our society, that tend in the direction of authoritarianism or autocracy, of closed-mindedness and intolerance, and of mitigation of our most cherished ideals of individual rights and freedoms and equal opportunities.

In accord with this ideological orientation, one might interpret the findings of political socialization research as leading to the conclusion that fresh positive efforts should be made to improve the political socialization strategies of American schools, to help overcome tendencies to form closed-minded attachments to political beliefs that breed intolerance and unreasonable resistance to potentially beneficial political changes. This does not mean more efficient inculcation of a particular set of "correct beliefs" or the prescription of the "proper values" that all good American youth should absorb. High school civics and government courses have been bogged down in this quagmire far too long. Social reconstructionism according to a preconceived blueprint of immutable "truths" is certainly not consistent with the previously mentioned ideological orientation. Rather it is assumed that central to the improvement of political socialization strategies of secondary schools should be efforts to keep the socialization process open-ended by providing young people with the tools to reflectively think about their beliefs, with dispositions to critically examine traditional practices, and with an educational atmosphere conducive to reflective thinking. This approach to improve political socialization through formal instruction would involve a revision of current civics and government courses to bring them into line with current scholarship; it would involve discarding many American myths that are taught as facts in typical civics and government courses and that may be dysfunctional in the real political world; it would involve teaching students skills of reflective thinking; it would involve creating an academic environment conducive to creativity, free expression, inquiry, and open-mindedness; it would involve giving high school youth considerable opportunities for meaningful decision-making. As Lane and Sears have said, "By pouring civic information and historical knowledge into students, instead of teaching them how to think and analyze social problems, our educational system misses its great opportunity." (52:115) If secondary school political education programs move in the direction suggested by these ideas, then perhaps a beginning will be made toward improving the approach of American schools to their culturally ordained task of contributing to the political socialization of the young.

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APPENDIX B

THE STUDY OF AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

by Howard D. Mehlinger

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE STUDY OF AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Howard D. Mehlinger

An Occasional Paper from the High School
Curriculum Center in Government
Indiana University

December, 1967

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This paper was prepared under the auspices of the High School Curriculum Center in Government at Indiana University. The Center is sponsored by the School of Education and the Department of Government. Its Executive Committee consists of three representatives from the Department of Government -- Mr. Byrum Carter, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences; Mr. Alfred Diamant, Professor of Government; and Mr. William Siffin, Professor of Government -- and two representatives from the School of Education -- Mr. Shirley Engle, Associate Dean for Advanced Studies; and Mr. Frederick Smith, Associate Professor of Education. Dean Engle is Chairman of the Executive Committee. The Director of the Center is Mr. Howard Mehlinger, Assistant Professor of History. Mr. John Patrick, Research Associate, Mr. Eugene Michaels, research assistant for audio-visual production, Mrs. Jane Lewis, secretary, and Mrs. Patricia Street, clerk-typist, complete the Center staff.

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SECTION I: A RATIONALE FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN CIVICS AND GOVERNMENT

Harold Berlak and Alan Tom recently castigated many of the directors of social studies curriculum development projects for having failed to abide by the normal canons of "scholarly and professional activity."[1] Berlak and Tom charged that directors of experimental projects engaged in research and development in the social studies have the same responsibility to report their hypotheses, the procedures for testing their hypotheses, and the results of their research determined on the basis of a rigorous and systematic evaluation as do scholars engaged in other types of research. Unfortunately, according to the authors, many project directors view their tasks more as publication ventures than as research and development projects.

Of course, these charges do not apply to the directors of all social studies projects. Moreover, the charges are not completely fair. A few project directors have established newsletters to keep others informed of their work; at least one project director has written a book setting forth his assumptions and reporting the results of his investigation. In published articles, in speeches, and within the curriculum materials themselves, project directors have, in part at least, made clear many of the assumptions that influence their work. Furthermore, it is easy to understand why systematic progress reports by the projects are scarce. The majority of the projects are operated by two or three people who are limited by very small budgets; they are reluctant to take time and resources away from course development to write periodic reports on their progress. Moreover, the social studies is such a backward culture that in an age of radar-controlled navigation many project directors are flying "by the seats of their pants." They hesitate to report hypotheses that may be discarded once they have materials ready for tryout in the schools. One project director has spoken for many when he indicated that while his project began with certain assumptions, many of these assumptions had to be revised and new ones added as the staff acquired experience and the project became more sophisticated.[2] Fortunately or unfortunately, course development does not seem to take place in exact accordance with theory. Participating in a curriculum development project is a learning experience, and it would be a narrow-minded staff that did not profit from it.

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[1] Berlak, Harold and Tom, Alan. "Toward Rational Curriculum Decisions in the Social Studies." Indiana Social Studies Quarterly. Vol. XX, No. 2 (Autumn, 1967) pp. 29-30.

Nevertheless, in principle, Berlak and Tom are correct. It is remarkable that during a time when there is so much frenetic activity to revise courses in social studies, there is so little debate about the assumptions upon which these courses are being constructed. This debate has undoubtedly suffered from the lack of exposure to contending points of view.

This paper is an attempt to add fuel to a debate that cannot help but assist all of us who are seeking to improve the teaching of social studies through curriculum research and development. In part, it is prompted by the belief that some type of periodic report to attentive members of the profession is one of the requirements of a research and development project. In the absence of resources that would enable us to establish a regular newsletter, we have elected to publish occasional papers reporting on our work.

Our first "occasional paper," although it did not appear under that title, was entitled Political Socialization of American Youth: A Review of Research with Implications for Secondary School Social Studies. This paper by John J. Patrick, Research Associate for our Center, was designed initially as an internal paper for the use of the Center. Later, we elected to distribute the paper in mimeograph form on request to any who might request it.

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[2] Fenton, Edwin. "Edwin Fenton Replies." Social Education, Vol. XXXI, No. 7. (November, 1967) p. 581.

Nearly a thousand mimeograph copies were distributed before our supply was exhausted.[3]

The current "occasional paper" attempts to lay bare some assumptions that direct the activities of one group of course developers. Certain assumptions undergird all our activities. They are reported in section one of this paper. Other assumptions are more specific to a course entitled American Political Behavior currently under development and intended for use with ninth-grade students. These assumptions are recorded in the second section of this paper.

This "occasional paper" is not an attempt to summarize the research of others, to provide a survey of possible approaches to the study of politics, or to prescribe content. It is highly subjective and impressionistic. It is a report of the biases, prejudices, and hypotheses that have led us to make certain choices about course development in the social studies. Quite different choices could have been made and are being made by others. I will try to explain why we made the ones we did. The purpose of the paper is to make clear to readers where we stand on certain issues that are of current importance in social studies curriculum development. In fulfilling this purpose, I have sometimes contrasted our decisions with those made by others. My purpose was not polemical but through comparison and contrast to make our position more clear.

Therefore, this paper may be viewed as a kind of Center progress report, particularly relating to one course currently under development. The course materials themselves and a report of the evaluation of field trials will follow in due time. Undoubtedly, some of our hypotheses will be overturned when they face the harsh reality of instruction in actual ninth-grade classrooms.

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[3] Mr. Patrick's paper is currently available from two sources. The National Council for the Social Studies has published it as a research bulletin. It is also available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service, Bell & Howell Company, 1700 Shaw Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44112, #ED 010 835.

This occasional paper is being circulated now not only because we feel a certain obligation to make such reports occasionally, but it also represents a crafty effort on the part of a tiny group of curriculum developers to profit from the advice and council of many wise and experienced leaders in education and political science. In the absence of funds to hire many consultants to advise us, we hope that by meeting our professional obligation, the readers of this paper will feel an equal obligation to report their reactions to us. In such a way, we may have hit upon an inexpensive way to avoid disaster and to provide for basic alterations and improvements in our course prior to the onset of pilot trials.

Some Basic Operating Assumptions:

There are more than 50 major social studies curriculum development projects at loose across the country. All of the projects share some characteristics; yet, all differ from each other in important ways. Some of the ways the High School Curriculum Center in Government is like other projects, but -- more importantly -- the way it can be distinguished from other projects is the subject of this section.

All curriculum development projects begin with two assumptions. First, it is assumed that social studies instruction needs improvement. Secondly, project directors assume that it is possible to improve instruction by improving the materials students use while learning. Any project director who does not hold these assumptions received his funds through fraud. Moreover, to the extent that project directors think much about it, the vast majority believe that the way to improve a teacher's performance in the classroom is to provide him with better materials and train him in the use of these materials.

Such assumptions may seem so obvious they require no supporting evidence. Nevertheless, they remain assumptions, assumptions hotly contested by others and still not proven to the satisfaction of all. Many leaders in teacher education, for example, assume something quite different. They often view the projects with suspicion, fearing that teachers are being "locked" into a curriculum. They would prefer that attention be given to teacher education, aiming at the goal of making each teacher his own course developer. Underlying these opposing assumptions is an obvious dispute over the role teachers can best play in curriculum development, a dispute that need not delay us in this essay.

Beginning with the shared goal of improving instruction in the social studies for American students and assuming that improving the social studies curriculum is an excellent -- if not the optimum -- device for bringing about needed improvement, project directors face a choice of alternative strategies. At least two are open to them. Some project directors believe it is fruitless to reform the curriculum in bits and pieces. Without some opportunity to affect the scope and sequence of the social studies, thereby enabling them to sequence ideas and skills over several years, they believe the task to be futile. As a result, some social studies projects are attempting to revise an entire sequence of courses -- e.g. K-12, 9-12, 1-6, and so on.

There are real advantages in such an approach. It is possible to eliminate many anachronisms existing in the present curriculum; more importantly, it is possible to sequence certain basic ideas and skills that the project director deems important, inserting concepts early in the sequence and then building upon and reinforcing them in subsequent courses.

While there are obvious advantages inherent in the "let's start from scratch" approach to curriculum development, significant disadvantages are also apparent. These disadvantages might be grouped under two categories: those relating to the social studies field itself and those relating to the nature of curriculum decision-making in the schools. Regarding the former, it must be acknowledged that there is no wide-spread agreement regarding how the existing scope and sequence of social studies should be altered. While many justifiably criticize the premises that support the "expanding environment" or the "spiral curriculum" models that have heavily influenced the choice of courses at given grade levels, the fact is that no satisfactory alternative has come forth. The notion that basic and fundamental ideas from the social sciences should be introduced early and subsequently elaborated upon has obvious appeal to many, but there is no agreement regarding what these fundamental ideas are, how early each can be introduced, and in what manner they are to receive elaboration. Furthermore, some reformers continue to look to the various social science disciplines for guidance in planning courses while others believe that the social studies as a discipline in its own right should set the tone for courses in social studies. Whether the social studies is a discipline or an aspiration has not even been settled.

The decision-making structure of the educational system also presents obstacles to sweeping reform in scope and sequence. First of all, some courses are mandated for certain grade levels. For example, a one-year course in American history is required for graduation in almost every high school in the United States, often as a result of state statutes. Therefore, whether curriculum reformers like it or not, certain courses, e.g. American history, are likely to be required of high school students for many years. Curriculum developers must either build around these mandated courses or run the risk that their scope and sequence cannot be adopted in some states. Moreover, a kind of eclecticism distinguishes much curriculum planning in the schools. It is surely easier to convince one teacher, or one group of teachers at a given grade level, to change a course than it is to overhaul the entire system. While the notion that each teacher should build upon what was taught in the earlier grades and prepare students for what lies ahead is preached, in practice teachers pay little attention to what their colleagues teach. Each course is taught as a discrete package of its own.

There is at least one other alternative strategy open to social studies curriculum reformers. While this strategy lacks much of the drama and appeal of starting anew, it has a number of factors operating in its favor. This approach accepts the scope and sequence of the social studies curriculum as it presently exists across the nation. It then seeks to subvert and reform existing courses in order to make them conform more to the aspirations of the curriculum developer. It assumes that much can be done within existing courses and that progress is more likely to occur by such a series of half-steps than by big leaps that require a complete alteration of the curriculum.

The Anthropology Curriculum Study Project is one manifestation of this approach. Despairing of having all schools introduce courses in anthropology and avoiding the necessity to restructure the scope and sequence of the curriculum, the curriculum developers for the ACSP surveyed existing courses in the curriculum and elected to strike through the world history course, as this course seemed most vulnerable and most susceptible to the adoption of anthropology-based materials. When they adopt ACSP materials, schools continue to teach world history; but major segments of the course assume an anthropological perspective.

The High School Curriculum Center in Government has elected to operate within the existing scope and sequence of the social studies curriculum. By definition our Center will limit its activities to the high school grades, i.e. grades nine to twelve. Furthermore, our project is directed toward improving the teaching of civics and government in the schools. We are a "discipline-centered" project, rather than a more general social studies project. Our goal is to improve those courses that bear upon the teaching of political science and government in the high school grades. Specifically, we are interested in the ninth-grade course in civics and twelfth-grade courses in American government and American problems. These courses remain the most frequently offered courses at their respective grade levels. More than 500,000 students annually study civics at the ninth grade and more than one million youngsters study American government or American problems at the twelfth grade. In short, this Center was established on the assumption that existing courses in civics and government have not enjoyed resounding success as evidenced by the reports of their critics and that a program of research and development with a disciplinary focus could achieve significant improvements in these courses.

It is important for the reader to understand that we are not seeking answers to the questions, when should government be taught? before and after what other units of instruction? and similar questions. We assume that the scope and sequence of the high school social studies curriculum will withstand the attack of reformers for many years. Much profitable work can be done by constructing alternatives to existing courses that will enable teachers to be more successful in achieving the objectives of civic education.

It should be clear that having decided upon the strategy to improve certain courses as courses, other decisions automatically follow. For example, courses must be self contained. We cannot assume that we can pick up certain ideas that have been introduced in other courses, unless there is clear evidence that all children acquire these ideas regardless of the specific courses they have studied. For example, while we can assume that all children have acquired positive feelings about the American political system by the time they reach the ninth grade -- research in political socialization confirms this -- we cannot assume that a ninth-grade child is able to discriminate between factual statements and value statements, also discouragingly evident from existing research. Therefore, unlike those developers who know the specific concepts and skills that will be taught at each grade level and can plan to build upon what was taught previously, we must develop discrete packages that assume very little about a child's formal training in political science.

Some Complaints About Existing Courses:

It was noted above that all curriculum development projects begin with assumptions about the need to improve existing courses. This is not the place to review all the literature damning courses in high school civics and government. For the reader who is surprised to learn that these courses are not viewed as a smashing success, I have suggested two recent sources one might examine to gain some impression of the range of criticism directed against these courses.[4] Incidentally, the literature defending the way civics and government courses are taught is almost non-existent.

What the reader deserves to know is what we believe are fundamental weaknesses in existing courses in civics and government and what we intend to do about them. Our views about the weaknesses of existing courses is but another set of assumptions that may or may not be valid. They are being reported here not as truths to be accepted but as assumptions that direct our efforts.

1. Courses in civics and government often lack a clear focus. The ninth-

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[4] Political Science in the Social Studies, ed. by Donald H. Riddle and Robert S. Cleary. (Thirty-Sixth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies.) Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1966 and Social Studies in the United States: A Critical Appraisal, ed. by C. Benjamin Cox and Byron G. Massialas. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1967.

grade civics course is especially vulnerable to this charge. Civics, as it has evolved over the past 40 years, has been directed toward "preparing children to be responsible citizens." As citizenship, broadly construed, includes more than participation in politics, ninth-grade civics courses often include such disparate topics as consumer economics, life adjustment, occupations, health, and personal grooming.

2. Undue attention is given to the formal structures of government thereby obscuring the less formal, but no less real, aspects of politics. For example, students often study local government through the various formal structures it assumes, e.g. mayor-council, city commission, and city manager forms of government. Knowledge of the formal structure is deemed sufficient to understand how decisions are made in the community. Seldom are students introduced to the notion of "community elite" and the degree to which community elites affect political decisions at the local level. Or, students are taught the "ten steps" by which a bill becomes a law as a way for understanding the legislative process. The "ten steps" makes clear that Congress relies upon a committee system and that both houses of Congress and the President have a role to play in the passage of legislation. However, this mechanistic formula obscures many of the essential factors involved in attempts to decide social issues through legislation. For example, the "ten steps" are grossly inadequate for helping students understand the passage of Medicare legislation more than 30 years after the first Medicare bill was dropped into the "hopper."

3. Controversial issues are often avoided in civics and government classes. Many teachers ignore public issues that create anxiety locally and nationally. There are enormous pressures on both teachers and textbook publishers to play it safe. The result is that political education in

the school is often emasculated.

The schools tend to deal with political education in much the same way that they treat sex education. Presumably, children are to be given romanticized versions of the political process because they are not sufficiently mature to learn the facts of life. It is our experience that kids often learn about politics in much the same way as they learn about sex, i.e. from peer groups, casual conversations, adults, the media, etc. What they are often deprived of is learning about politics as a topic for serious, intellectual investigation.

4. Existing courses in civics and government lag far behind research in political science. Students study government in high schools today in much the same way as their fathers and mothers studied government, despite the fact that political science has experienced enormous change and growth. Concepts from recent political science rarely appear in high school instruction on civics and government. Students are denied the insights to be gained by the use of such concepts as role, status, function, socialization, political culture.

5. There is little or no effort to develop skills of inquiry in a rigorous and systematic way. This failure follows generations of interest in teaching "critical thinking," "problem solving," "reflective thinking," etc. Nevertheless, while students are urged to "study the evidence and make rational political decisions," they are given only the most primitive form of instruction in how to achieve this.

6. Civics and government courses are unsuccessful in advancing students' understanding about American political values. This weakness stems primarily from high school teachers' misconceptions about what the school's proper role toward the study of political values should be with high-school-age students. Existing courses in civics and government devote

considerable attention to the preachment of American political values. Research has indicated that the overwhelming majority of American children acquire strong, positive, supportive attitudes about their political system and nation at an early age and that most American adolescents and adults retain this generalized basic loyalty to state and nation throughout their lives. This finding suggests that high school social studies teachers do not need to be concerned mainly with inculcating loyalty to state and nation. This finding suggests that it may be very inefficient of time and effort to do so.

However, while students are constantly exposed to value assertions in their civics and government courses, they rarely have an opportunity to inquire into the meaning of these values and to consider the consequences of behaving in a manner consistent with these values. Therefore, while students are generally familiar with and committed to fundamental American values stated as abstractions, they often lack full understanding of what the operationalization of these values might mean. Moreover, students are often unaware of the subtle but powerful influence their own values play in leading them to make decisions about politics and in preventing them occasionally from making careful, rational decisions based upon empirical evidence.

7. Existing courses in civics and government are redundant for the majority of students. They often fail to add significantly to the knowledge that students have acquired earlier or that is easily accessible from sources other than the schools.

Assumptions Based upon Research into Political Socialization:

As noted above the Center has prepared and distributed a paper entitled Political Socialization of American Youth: A Review of Research With

Implications for Secondary School Social Studies. This paper was initially written by Mr. Patrick as a working paper for use by the Center staff in the preparation of new courses in civics and government. Its purpose was to review the existing research on the process by which American youngsters are socialized into the political culture. Presumably, high school courses in civics and government should be based on what children already know about politics when they reach the ninth grade. It may surprise some to know that this very simple notion has apparently eluded the majority of teachers, administrators, course developers, and textbook publishers.

This is not the paper to review research on political socialization. For those who are unfamiliar with this research and are curious about it, I recommend that you read Mr. Patrick's paper. What follows are simply some of the assumptions for curriculum development in the field of civics and government that we have made on the basis of existing political socialization research.

Many agencies in our society contribute toward making American children loyal, committed American citizens. Parents, playmates, churches, Boy Scouts, and the mass media are but a few of the sources of political information and belief that shape children's attitudes and knowledge. In fact, children would likely become loyal and more-or-less active American citizens whether the schools offered courses in civics and government or not. Furthermore, the schools would probably have to consciously undertake programs to overturn students' feelings about the American political system to prevent American youth from becoming loyal Americans. That they will not do so is obvious; that, for the most part, the schools reinforce and promote knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs consistent with the American political culture is equally clear. In so doing, the schools take their place alongside other significant agents of political socialization.

Just how important the school's role as a political socializer has become is a disputed subject. All who have studied this question stress the importance of early learning. Apparently, many of the general attitudes and values acquired by young children have political implications. Therefore, some scholars view the family as the most significant source of political socialization; others, in particular Robert Hess and Judith Torney, believe that the elementary schools may be the most significant influence on children. No investigator has said the school is without influence; opinions differ primarily on the relative influence of the schools toward fixing political attitudes, knowledge, and belief.

The question can then be asked: what aspect of the school has the most direct impact upon students' political socialization? Is it the curriculum, the teachers, playmates, school administration? Again, scholars are not agreed upon this question; but many believe that the informal "community" of the school may be more influential than the curriculum itself. In other words, when teachers permit children to assist in making classroom rules, when students are encouraged to work in committees, when they are taught to take turns, follow rules, and share both in the classroom and on the playground, they are acquiring the skills, norms, attitudes, and behavior that are valued in American society.

As noted above, it is generally recognized that early learning is very important; some scholars insist that it is crucial. David Easton and Robert Hess concluded on the basis of their research that by the time children reach high school, the "process of political socialization [has] been underway for some time and [is] nearing completion."[5] Apparently, children enter ninth grade with well-developed political attitudes and beliefs buttressed by some political knowledge. Logically, high school instruction in civics and government should build upon the base students have already acquired.

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[5] Hess, Robert D., and Easton, David. "Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," School Review, Vol. 70, 1962, pp. 258-259.

While there is conflicting evidence about the exact contribution offered by high school courses in civics and government to the political education of adolescents, the general impression derived from existing research cannot help but cause anguish to high school teachers of these subjects. The results of one, recent study have had a significant influence on our thinking. Among the advantages of this study are: it is relatively recent -- the results were reported in spring, 1967; it was conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, under the direction of Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings -- two men and an institution with excellent reputations for conducting surveys of this type; and the study was based upon a national probability sample involving 1,669 high school seniors distributed among 97 secondary schools.[6]

The purpose of the study was to determine the extent to which courses in high school, interpreted to be grades ten to twelve, contribute to the political knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs of high school seniors. Students were asked whether they had formal instruction in courses relating to civics and government in grades ten to twelve. Thirty-two per cent of the students had taken no course relating to civics and government during those three years, fifty-nine per cent had taken one course; and nine per cent had taken two or more courses. Of those students who had taken courses relating to civics and government, sixty-seven per cent had taken a course in American Government, thirty-seven per cent had taken a course in American Problems, and ten per cent had taken some other course. The fact that this totals more than 100% indicates that some students had studied both American Government and some other course relating to civics and government.

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[6] Langton, Kenneth P., and Jennings, M. Kent. Political Socialization and the High School Curriculum in the United States. (Unpublished paper) May, 1967

Langton and Jennings sought to discriminate the course-takers from the non-course-takers according to the following criteria:

1. Political knowledge and sophistication. (Do students have knowledge about current political events and personalities?)
2. Political interest. (Do students express an interest in political affairs?)
3. Spectator politicization. (Do students read newspapers, watch news on television, etc.?)
4. Political discourse. (Do students discuss politics with their peers?)
5. Political efficacy. (Do students believe that they can influence civic affairs?)
6. Political cynicism. (Are students cynical and mistrustful of government?)
7. Civic tolerance. (Do students support the basic principles contained in the "Bill of Rights," etc.?)
8. Participative orientation. (Do students indicate that they look forward to and expect to participate in public affairs?)

These criteria were chosen because they represent objectives most often stated by curriculum directors, government teachers, and authors of civics and government textbooks. In effect, the researchers used the goals most often stated by teachers themselves to learn if existing high school courses were successful.

Langton and Jennings learned that students taking American Government and those taking American Problems courses are "virtually indistinguishable in terms of their political orientations." The differences were so slight that it was possible to treat the American Problems and American Government students alike in the experiment and to consider those who had taken courses as a group against those who had not taken courses. But their most significant conclusion was that despite teachers' hopes and aspirations, high school courses in civics and government had little influence on the students' political attitudes, values, beliefs, and knowledge. The importance of civic education courses in the senior high school are vindicated by this study, only if one uses the direction of gain. But the magnitude of gain is impressively weak, even bordering on the trivial. This should be a shocking revelation to most high school teachers of civics and government.

There is an important exception to the general conclusion stated above. A sub-group in the sample did show striking gain. This sub-group consisted of American Negroes. The amount of political knowledge they acquired and the feeling of political efficacy they gained as a result of the course were sharply upward, bringing them much more in line with white students as compared to the gap that existed between Negro students and white students who had not taken courses in civics and government. Nevertheless, white students remained more sophisticated politically than Negroes, when both groups had studied civics and government.

Perhaps, there is more than one explanation for the ineffectiveness of high school civics and government courses, but Jennings' hypothesis, one with which we agree, is that existing courses in civics and government are essentially redundant; they merely provide an additional layer of information already familiar to high school students. We know that the typical American student acquires much of his political knowledge and fixes many of his political attitudes and beliefs early in childhood. Existing high school civics and government courses do little more than provide reinforcement for most white students. For Negro children, the situation is often quite different. Many have had less opportunity to acquire similar political attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge at home; many have had less exposure to the mass media and fewer opportunities to acquire certain types of political information from peer groups. Therefore, taking a course in civics and government opens up an entirely new field of knowledge for many Negro students, one they had not experienced previously.

One might conclude from this study that schools would be justified in abolishing courses in civics and government, except perhaps for Negro youngsters. This conclusion might be supported, if the civic education goals that American society has long upheld were being realized. But, the fact is that political participation in American life is not high; political cynicism is all too prevalent; civic tolerance is far less than is desired; many citizens have a poor sense of political efficacy. Many studies have shown that adults lack knowledge about the political process and about current and historical political events. Therefore, while existing courses in civics and government apparently contribute little to furthering progress toward stated goals in civic education, our record of achievement in meeting these goals demands that we try to do better.

Assumptions About the Role of High School Courses in Civics and Government:

If most children already have well-developed political attitudes, values, and beliefs by the time they reach the high school grades, it appears wasteful for teachers to preach about American values, attitudes, and beliefs in their courses. Their students already hold these beliefs, and whatever reinforcement is necessary can be accomplished informally within the total society.

Research also makes clear that the political socialization of children occurs in society at large. Many agents contribute to adolescents' knowledge and belief about the political system. Students do not require courses in civics and government to learn that there are two major political parties in the United States, that the principal executive officer of their state is the governor, and so on. Most students know these "facts" by the time they reach high school and will have many opportunities to reinforce this knowledge throughout their lives. Yet, civics and government teachers spend an immense amount of time upon just this kind of "factual" instruction. Whenever they do so, they contribute to the redundancy of the existing courses.

Nevertheless, high school courses relating to civics and government can serve a vital role in the political education of American youth. Rather than preach values, such courses could enable students to surface their own political values, attitudes, and beliefs. By comparing their values, attitudes, and beliefs with others, students might gain insight into political culture, processes of socialization, and relationships between political attitudes and political behavior.

Moreover, rather than serving only as dispensers of information about politics and government, civics and government courses could provide an opportunity for students to acquire criteria for discriminating, evaluating, selecting, and responding to useful and relevant data from the communication flow constantly pressing in on them. In this way such courses might enable students to acquire new frequencies that would permit them to tune in on political messages that are always present for those with antenna and receivers and to unscramble these messages in order to make sense of what they are receiving. *In order to accomplish this task high school courses in civics and government must help students acquire concepts that enable them to see greater meaning in their political environment, and they must help students acquire skill in using the tools of inquiry that enable social scientists to make warranted judgments about political phenomena.*

Some Assumptions about the Nature of Experimental, Curriculum Development Projects:

We believe that certain assumptions are implied in the conduct of any experimental curriculum development project. One is that the criteria for judging the product of an experimental project are inherently different from the criteria used to judge textbooks. We are not obligated to produce a product that schools will demand, that can be published, and that will make a fortune for publishers and authors. While this must be an important consideration for commercial publishers, it is not a necessary criteria for judging experimental projects. A curriculum development project satisfies its obligations if it produces a curriculum package that has been demonstrated to have achieved its objectives and to have satisfied, at least as well as existing courses, the general objectives the schools and society have established for similar segments of the curriculum.

The attention that has been given to reforming school curricula for more than a decade, leading to the establishment of many curriculum development projects in nearly all subjects, began with a recognition of the fact that existing instructional programs were not wholly successful. The first task of a project director is a diagnostic one. After deciding why existing courses have failed, he and his staff state their assumptions clearly and begin to write new course materials that are based upon their assumptions and that are directed toward the achievement of objectives that schools believe are important to achieve within the subject area. The project may posit additional goals that have been previously ignored or accorded a minor role by the schools. It is rare that curriculum developers attempt to satisfy objectives that are contrary to those widely held in society.

High school courses in civics and government exist to satisfy civic education goals that American society deems important and believes can be met, in part at least, through formal education. There is evidence that civics and government courses are not wholly successful; some say that they have essentially failed to justify their existence. It is reasonable to believe that experimental curriculum development in this field is needed.

Nevertheless, experimental curriculum development centers are not established to write better textbooks of a kind that already exist on the market. If the failure of existing civics and government courses is only that the textbooks currently in use are poorly written -- an assumption we do not share -- it is a simple matter to repair the cause of failure. Commercial publishers need only hire better authors and improve their editing and publishing of textbooks. If, on the other hand, the principal source of failure is that an entirely new approach to the study of government is required, progress is most likely to occur through the intervention of an experimental curriculum development project.

A curious circle seems to exist. Teachers frequently criticize their civics and government books as being inadequate. When students fail to show interest in the course, a teacher often places the blame on a "dull textbook." Such teachers may be unable to explain how they would change the book, what should be added, and what sections should be deleted; but they are frequently restless with what they have. When this restlessness is communicated to publishers, they generally reply that when teachers demand a different kind of textbook, they will gladly publish it. If they were to publish books that adopt radical, new approaches to the study of government, they would likely lose money on the venture. Commercial publishers often lack sufficient risk capital to advance much ahead of the existing market.

Our curriculum development project need not prove its value by a sales record. If we can prepare a product that satisfies scholars that it represents valid, modern political science; if we can translate contemporary political science into terms adolescents can understand and manage; if teachers report that students learn successfully and seem to be highly motivated while learning, if the courses contribute successfully to the satisfaction of our goals and the majority of the objectives normally associated with civic education; and if the course *could be* adopted successfully by schools at a minimum cost and with reasonable re-training of teachers; we shall have justified the expenditure of public funds on this effort. Schools may still prefer to continue teaching civics and government as they have in the past, and publishers may ignore us. Adoption is not an obligatory or even a recommended concern for a curriculum development center.

We are engaged in the "D" of the "R and D" formula. "Development" means applied research. While research provides the source of many of our assumptions and assists in the selection of content and while we expect to design several small research studies to ascertain the consequences of the intervention of our courses upon a well-defined population, nevertheless, our day-by-day activities are more analogous to engineering than to research. We are trying to produce a product that will result in improved political education for high school students. We should be judged according to our success in "developing" or "engineering" course packages that result in improved political education for high school students.

We are trying to translate the most forward thrust of research in political science into terms adolescents can grasp. The fact that textbooks often lag far behind research in the fields they represent is well-known. The gap between what is known about politics and what is taught in high school civics and government classes is large. The enormous change that has occurred in political science during the last decade or so is scarcely, if at all, represented by the majority of high school textbooks. American children are thereby deprived of knowledge that is justly theirs.

In effect, we are writing alternative courses to existing courses in civics and government -- alternatives that could be plugged into the existing social studies curriculum with minimum disturbance for teachers of other social studies courses. While our courses are intended to fit the typical scope and sequence of the social studies, they will be different from existing civics and government courses -- different in content, different in perspective, different in pedagogical approach, different in the demands they will make on teachers and students. Despite these differences, they will hopefully contribute to a majority of the general goals widely claimed for civic education.

Courses not units. The decision to develop entire courses rather than resource units, segments of courses that could be plugged into existing courses, course guidelines, etc. all reflect another set of assumptions. Given what we know about the weaknesses of most school libraries, the limited training of most teachers in political science, and the scarcity of time teachers have for planning and preparation, we decided to build a complete course for each of two grade levels. We will write the materials required for students, provide the supporting audio-visual components the course requires, and develop an elaborate teaching guide that explains how we believe the course should be taught.

The assumptions upon which we are working are diametrically opposed to those that are used to defend resource units. Rather than suggest a variety of approaches that could be used to teach a concept and list dozens of resources that are available that might contribute to the development of the concept, we will describe one approach to be used and provide the resources that are required for it to succeed. Each course will be released only after it has been thoroughly tested in pilot classes, and we are convinced that the course will succeed, because we have polished it until it succeeds in conditions like those in our pilot classes.

Each course will be taught by members of the Center staff using classes of typically heterogeneous ninth- and twelfth-grade students. A regular day-by-day feedback and evaluation system is being designed for use in the class taught by the staff. Moreover, each course will be taught in a small number of pilot schools having students that represent a cross section of American students. The 15 to 20 specially trained pilot teachers will report their reactions and criticisms to us on a regular basis throughout the year.

It is customary to criticize curriculum projects for "locking" teachers into a course package, thereby depriving them of the joy of teaching. No social studies course designer, no matter how able, will ever be able to engineer a package so perfect that it can be plugged automatically into any classroom in the country to run by itself throughout the year. Each classroom teacher must make critical decisions every day in order to make the package fit his students, his time schedule, and so on. These are decisions only individual teachers can made. Nevertheless, their decisions will be more rational if they are completely aware of what the course is to accomplish. It is impractical, even foolish, to argue that every teacher should develop his own course of study from his own resources. "New math" would never have been taught in elementary grades across the country, if it had been left to each teacher to construct his own math program.

Furthermore, teachers are involved in the development of our materials. Those who are writing the materials are experienced, high school teachers; and they will teach the experimental materials in Bloomington classes. Moreover, high school teachers are being enlisted as pilot teachers. Their opinions will be taken seriously during the trial run of each course. No course will be released until high school teachers as well as political scientists have had an opportunity to study it and to offer suggestions for its improvement.

Assumptions Underlying Our Specific Choices of Courses:

Many of the assumptions stated above have contributed to the choice of courses, but certain other factors bear more directly on the selection of course content. Among these factors are: developments in political science; stated goals of teachers at each grade level; assumptions about the needs and interests of children; and the need to deal with contemporary problems.

We are developing a two-semester ninth-grade course entitled American Political Behavior and, for the twelfth grade, a one-semester course entitled The American Political System and a second semester course entitled Comparative Political Systems, focusing on Great Britain, the USSR, and one developing nation. The ninth-grade course might be termed a micro-political approach, as the emphasis is upon the individual acting singly and in groups within the political system, while the twelfth-grade courses incorporate a macro-political perspective.

The ninth-grade course in American Political Behavior draws upon an important development in contemporary political science. Concepts and approaches contained in political behavior approaches have not become part of high school civics and government courses. Furthermore, few teachers have had training in behavioral approaches to the study of politics. Nevertheless, it is clear that many political scientists, sociologists, and others find great utility in understanding politics by using the concepts generated by the behavioral approach.

The behavioral approach enables us to satisfy many of the objectives ninth-grade teachers have for the study of civics. Teachers typically spend much time discussing the activities of citizens: how they vote, why they should vote, the importance of being informed about public issues, and so on. The behavioral approach has a particular contribution to make to the study of individuals in politics, including an enormous body of research on voter behavior.

While our principal concern was one of satisfying the goals for the ninth-grade civics course, we were aware also of some interest by schools in a relatively new course entitled Introduction to Social Science that is sometimes taught to ninth-graders and competes with the civics course. In many cases, this course is no more than a general description of the various social science disciplines. In a few cases teachers are trying to teach students the rudiments of social science inquiry.

The course in American Political Behavior is a social science course focusing on politics. Throughout the course students will be taught methods of inquiry used by social scientists to study politics. This course could be used in some schools as an Introduction to Social Science, provided that teachers were willing to limit their inquiry domain to politics.

The assumptions we have about the twelfth-grade course stem from other considerations. We recognized a need for some flexibility. American Government is taught both as a semester course and as a two-semester course across the nation. Therefore, we wished to design a course that might fit either requirement. A one-semester course on The American Political System and a second semester on Comparative Political Systems seemed to us to offer the needed flexibility.

Moreover, we were aware that a few states and a number of schools require units on "Communism." These often appear as four- to six-week units on the USSR. We believe that we can provide help to teachers by including a unit on the USSR in the semester course on Comparative Political Systems.

In addition, we felt a need to provide an entirely different perspective for twelfth-graders from that entailed by the ninth-grade course. While it may be unlikely that many students will take both the course in ninth-grade American Political Behavior and the twelfth-grade course in American and Comparative Political Systems, those who do have a right to expect that the second course will differ significantly from the first. As the ninth-grade course will focus on the individual, utilizing a micro-political approach, the twelfth-grade course is focused on the "system" and can be viewed as a macro-political approach.

The twelfth-grade courses will seek to demonstrate a consistent model or theory for looking at any political system. Attempts to construct such models presently occupy the attention of some of the best American political scientists. Their research has led them away from earlier forms of comparative approaches that focused primarily upon comparative institutions. Current research work is built largely upon structural-functional analysis. Categories of functions are identified that are satisfied by all political systems. The analysis proceeds by asking which and how various structures within a specific society perform these functions. For example, leadership recruitment is a requisite function of any political system. Scholars examine the various ways political systems recruit leaders. Enabling students to get a handle on functional categories should enable them to see more in any political system they might encounter.

The course in The American Political System will explicate the theory or model by drawing upon illustrations from American political life. Students will study American politics and government at the same time that they are gaining control of the model. The second semester will afford an opportunity for students to apply the model and analyze three other political systems -- Great Britain, the USSR, and one developing nation. Great Britain was selected to enable students to examine another system as "democratic" as their own but with quite different institutions; the USSR was selected for reasons noted above and because the USSR provides interesting contrasts to American experience; one developing nation will be included in order to show the processes of political development in a dramatic way.

It is customary to say something about the "needs and interests of the child" when planning curriculum. We assume that many of these needs and interests vary immensely with individual children and can only be provided for by the child's own teacher. Other needs and interests are characteristic of an age-group. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect curriculum designers to heed what these are.

First of all, let it be said that we are unaware of any research that documents the "needs and interests" of 13- and 17-year-old children in a way that would be of much assistance to us in selecting content for new courses in civics and government. Beyond research into political socialization that we have studied carefully, most research on children is far too general to suit our special purposes. Nevertheless, we have assumed that a child "needs" to know how his political system operates. The "needs" implied by democratic government suggest this to be true. I have observed with fascination the way children resolve conflicts and exercise power in their play. I have no reason to believe that children will not be interested in politics as it relates to conflict and exercise of power. Moreover, we recognize the importance of relating our instruction to students' own direct experience. Our exploration of American values begins by having students surface their own values and use their values as data from which inferences can be made. Many other opportunities exist throughout our courses to link general political phenomena to the children's own direct experience.

We do not believe that a student "needs" to know details about the formal structure of his local community government, a concern that typically occupies much time in civics courses. Students are too mobile for this approach to be highly functional. It is much better to have students learn aspects of political behavior that they can apply to any community rather than limit their investigation to their own. Of course, many teachers will wish to illustrate the more general political processes by drawing examples from their local community. This is to be recommended. What we are seeking to avoid is the practice of having students memorize lists of local government officials, the names of current occupants of these positions, their duties, salaries, etc. No one, certainly not high school students, "needs" to know these things nor are adolescents very interested in such data.

Most social studies specialists and classroom teachers believe that high school students should have an opportunity to inquire into problems that affect contemporary American society. A few leaders advocate building the entire social studies curriculum around the study of "crucial issues," "closed areas," and so on. Others believe that at least one course, e.g. senior American problems, should be devoted to a study of contemporary problems. One social studies curriculum development project has prepared materials for classroom instruction that focus on issues of public controversy.[7]

Whether it is best to base the selection of content on a discipline or whether it is best to focus instruction on contemporary problems is not an issue for us. Presumably, both approaches can contribute to the education of students in the social studies field. We have chosen to be a discipline-centered project. It does not follow, however, that we are uninterested in contemporary problems.

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[7] For a description of this project, see Oliver, Donald W., and Shaver, James P. Teaching Public Issues in the High School. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966.

It is not necessary to have a problem-centered course to deal with problems. Political science has long been concerned with issues of public policy that reflect contending views, values, and aspirations. Any course in political science that overlooks these facets of politics does so at its peril. Issues relating to public policy will emerge from a study of political behavior or the political system itself and need not be elevated to a position of central focus. Throughout our courses students will be provided opportunities to investigate issues of public controversy. They shall deal with those problems that arise from the course itself, and the perspective will constantly be one of how does the political system manage such conflicts.

SECTION II: A COURSE IN AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

The ninth-grade course in American Political Behavior attempts to satisfy many of the objectives commonly claimed for ninth-grade courses in civics. Some frequently-stated civics objectives are not goals of this course. Other objectives that have either been ignored or underplayed in typical civics courses are important to us. In order to clarify these distinctions Table 1 lists typical ninth-grade civics goals in the left-hand column and our response or contribution to these goals through the American Political Behavior course in the right-hand column.

A number of points about the table should be clarified. First, if many of the ninth-grade civics goals cited in the left-hand column seem vague, they are. They were not purposely written that way. The objectives are stated as they are found in textbooks and a number of curriculum guides. The list might have been longer, as many additional goals could have been cited. We chose those that appear in a number of lists. Probably few teachers would try to accomplish all of these goals. The civics goals were categorized to suit our own purposes. They are rarely listed in this manner.

Secondly, the objectives for the course in American Political Behavior as listed in Table 1 are not sufficient to give a complete picture of the course. However, to provide individual, behavioral objectives for each day's lesson would be to reproduce the course. Therefore, the reader will have to accept the fact that we are writing more specific, daily objectives as well; but for the purpose of this paper, the contrasting list of general objectives must suffice to give the reader a picture of the ways in which our course is like and different from existing civics courses.

Finally, in stating the American Political Behavior objectives, I have used a narrative as opposed to the more typical declarative style. This was done to better discriminate our objectives from the goals stated in the left-hand column. Moreover, I have sometimes provided an example of a classroom exercise illustrating how we intend to accomplish the objective, if clarification of the goal seemed necessary.

TABLE 1
GOALS FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

Typical Goals for Existing Courses in Ninth-grade Civics	Specific Goals for an Experimental Course in American Political Behavior
1. Knowledge	1. Knowledge:
a. To understand the structure of national, state, and local government.	a. While we want students to know about the structure of government, an approach to the study of politics and government that is limited to the institutions of government is too narrow in our view. The focus of our course is on individuals behaving in politics and government. Students will study the occupants of institutions as individuals performing roles. Students will examine the various strictures on role performance, including formal rules and institutional customs, that limit role behavior. Students will study political leaders in all three "levels" of government, local, state, and national, in three "branches" of government, executive, legislative, and judicial. Moreover, students will study political leaders outside the formal structure of government, e.g. community elite groups, leaders of political parties. We are primarily interested in having students understand how individuals perceive their roles in institutions and how and why they act as they do.

Typical Goals for Existing Courses in Ninth-grade Civics	Specific Goals for an Experimental Course in American Political Behavior
b. To learn the duties, responsibilities and privileges of citizenship in a democracy.	b. Our course focuses on individuals and how they act or behave in the American political system. Nevertheless, the categories of "duties, responsibilities, and privileges" hold little analytical utility for us. For example, is voting a duty, a responsibility, or a privilege? Students will examine voting as an act of political behavior providing one avenue to influence the political system. They shall learn why some Americans vote in every election, why some vote on occasion, and why some rarely vote. One of our major objectives is for students to acquire a reasoned and "functional" understanding of citizenship in a democracy.
c. To understand how our problems may be solved within the framework of our government.	c. We expect students to learn that the political system exists to make authoritative decisions binding on all citizens. These decisions arise as a result of a need to settle "problems." Therefore, the course centers on the ways citizens may bring pressure to bear on the system to resolve issues of concern to them.
d. To become acquainted with the political, social, and economic problems confronting our nation.	d. Issues of continuing political concern are built into the course and could scarcely be avoided. Among such issues are the conflict between majority rule and minority rights, loyalty and dissent.
e. To develop an understanding of the American system of government.	e. We expect to add to the knowledge about the American system of government that each child has already

Typical Goals for Existing Courses in Ninth-grade Civics	Specific Goals for an Experimental Course in American Political Behavior
	begun to acquire before he reaches the ninth grade. We intend to add to his understanding of American government in two essential ways: (1) By imposing concepts used by political scientists that will enable him to acquire increased political meaning from his experience. (See section on "concepts" following for more discussion on this point.) (2) By focusing on the largely informal, and individual behavior of American citizens. This course will not complete a student's understanding of his government. He should add to his political understanding throughout his lifetime. Nevertheless, this course will add significantly to his capacity for political understanding by providing him with concepts that enable him to make more sense of politics.
f. To learn how our form of representative government developed.	f. This objective has primarily historical implications, and we are leaving the achievement of this objective to history courses. However, in the unit on political culture, students will learn the historical sources for many of the political values and beliefs they profess as Americans.
g. To help students understand our economic system and the citizen's role in economic life.	g-j. These objectives often accompany community civics courses that contain units on occupations, consumer

Typical Goals for Existing Courses in Ninth-grade Civics	Specific Goals for an Experimental Course in American Political Behavior
h. To contribute to wise use of natural resources and leisure time.	economics, etc. These objectives will not be met by this course.
i. To help students make wise vocational choices in order to maximize their abilities.	
j. To contribute to better mental health.	
k. To develop an understanding of the place of the United States in the contemporary world.	k. This course does not have an international component. The focus is entirely on American political behavior. Therefore, this objective will not be achieved.
2. Cognitive Skills:	2. Cognitive Skills:
a. To develop a competence for critical thinking. b. To develop problem solving ability. c. To develop skills in thinking, studying, and learning. d. To make each student an independent learner.	a-d. These four objectives aim essentially at the same objective. They represent an aspiration to teach youngsters how to process data in order that they can arrive at warranted judgments. Unfortunately, typical civics courses have had high hopes and low achievement regarding these goals. We, too, have high hopes and view the attainment of inquiry objectives as absolutely vital to the success of this course. How we intend to accomplish inquiry goals is specified later in the section entitled "inquiry." Among the specific inquiry skills students will achieve are the following: (1) a capacity for asking the kinds of questions most likely to yield pertinent data;

Typical Goals for Existing Courses in Ninth-grade Civics	Specific Goals for an Experimental Course in American Political Behavior
	(2) a capacity to make inductive inferences from data;
	(3) a capacity to combine generalizations in order to produce plausible explanations;
	(4) a capacity to hypothesize and plot investigations to test hypotheses;
	(5) a capacity to exploit conceptual models for inquiry;
	(6) a capacity to discriminate among and to make judgments about descriptive, explanatory, value, and prescriptive assertions.
e. An ability to use a wide variety of sources, including books, charts, graphs, maps, documents, visuals, etc.	e. We shall encourage the use of resources already familiar to most social studies teachers, e.g. books, pamphlets, maps, charts, graphs. In addition, we shall introduce certain kinds of data (e.g. demographic data), procedures for securing data (e.g. attitude scales), and procedures for handling data (e.g. frequency distribution tables) that are rarely used in existing courses.
f. Facility in both written and oral communication, including the acquisition and use of the specialized vocabulary of civics and government.	f. We share with other courses in the curriculum this general goal of advancing students' facility in written and oral communication. By imposing concepts from political science upon students, they will not simply acquire new words; these concepts will enable them to derive enriched meaning from their political environment.

Typical Goals for Existing Courses in Ninth-grade Civics	Specific Goals for an Experimental Course in American Political Behavior
g. Ability to recognize propaganda techniques.	g. This course has no provision for the study of propaganda as a separate act. However, the entire thrust of the course is directed toward helping students to acquire a capacity to make sophisticated judgments about claims and assertions. In this way, we will meet the goals implied in teaching about propaganda without setting it aside for special treatment.
3. Affective Goals:	3. Affective Goals:
a. To develop an appreciation for our heritage of free and democratic government.	a-g. All of these objectives are related to affecting students' attitudes toward democracy. We agree with the proponents of civic education that the over-riding objective of instruction in political education in the affective realm is to increase student acceptance of democracy. In our view democracy consists of two essential elements: majority rule and minority rights. Therefore, our courses should contribute to students' acceptance of practices of majority rule and protection of minority rights. Certain attitudes seem to be necessary for majority rule to function properly. Citizens must believe that they can influence decisions by government; citizens must be interested in politics; and citizens must agree to accept the decisions made by the majority as legitimate and binding. Protection of minority rights requires that citizens strive
b. To develop a feeling of responsibility for active and intelligent participation in civic affairs.	
c. To develop a desire to become better acquainted with the problems of our democracy.	
d. To develop faith in our ability to solve our problems within the framework of our form of government.	
e. To develop civic pride and responsibility.	
f. To create interest in civics and civic affairs.	
g. To develop better human relations.	

Typical Goals for Existing Courses in Ninth-grade Civics	Specific Goals for an Experimental Course in American Political Behavior
	to overcome ethnocentrism and to practice political tolerance. Citizens must also be willing to accept political pluralism. As political cynicism seems to inhibit one's ability to accept majority rule and protect minority rights, schools should seek to reduce political cynicism by students. Finally, citizens should desire to have evidence before making decisions. They should be unwilling to form judgments on the basis of prejudice, faith, or authority. Therefore, an appropriate attitudinal objective for courses in civics education is to foster decision processes based upon empirical evidence.
	In summary, the following statements comprise the specific attitudinal objectives of our ninth-grade course:
	(1) To increase a sense of political efficacy.
	(2) To increase political interest.
	(3) To increase the acceptance of the legitimacy of specific majority decision-making rights.
	(4) To increase political toleration.
	(5) To decrease ethnocentrism.
	(6) To increase acceptance of political pluralism.
	(7) To decrease political cynicism.

Typical Goals for Existing Courses in Ninth-grade Civics	Specific Goals for an Experimental Course in American Political Behavior
	(8) To increase acceptance of a scientific disposition toward the validation of explanations about political phenomena.

General Description of the Course:

The two-semester course in American Political Behavior intended for ninth-grade students focuses on the political behavior of individual American citizens. Following a one-week introduction to the course in which the concept of political behavior is made clear, students will study four major units of work, each averaging eight to nine weeks in length.

Unit I is entitled "The Context of American Political Behavior." The overarching purposes of this unit are to inform students of the social and physical context in which political behavior occurs, to make them familiar with the values and beliefs that constitute American political culture and the consequences such values and beliefs have for behavior, and to inform students about the process through which the political culture is learned and passed on.

Students are introduced to a number of concepts, including, political culture, society, physical environment, social environment, status, role, symbol. Moreover, students are taught to use a number of social science techniques to promote inquiry. Attitude scales and frequency distribution tables are merely two of the devices introduced in this unit. The way these are to be used are carefully taught in order that students will be able to use them with more confidence later in the course.

Investigation into values is picked up from the end of the first week and continued throughout this unit. Students are taught to discriminate between normative and empirical statements and are taught to be explicit about the criteria they are using to make judgments about value claims. Case studies that require both empirical and normative analysis are the principal resource for instruction in how to inquire into values.

Much of the data from which students will make inferences and hypothesize about American political attitudes and beliefs will be drawn from the values, attitudes, and beliefs of high school students. Various kinds of "confrontation lessons," including brief anecdotes, slide presentations, and role-playing episodes will be used to surface the attitudes and values of students.

Unit II provides the opportunity for students to learn how Americans act in their role as citizens, to study why they act as they do, and to consider whether they act in ways consistent with American ideals of citizen participation. Students will look into the psychological, social, and situational factors that influence citizen behavior. The relative influence on citizens played by such agencies as the mass media, political parties, and interest groups will be studied. A significant part of the unit will focus upon one kind of political behavior, voting behavior.

Students will explore the various ways citizens can bring pressure to bear on the system to gain favorable decisions. Students will read case studies illustrating successful tactics, near the close of the unit, they will play a simulation-game called "Influence" through which they can simulate what they have learned about the ways citizens can influence the political system.

Existing courses in civics and government attempt to "sell" students on the importance of becoming active participants in the political process. This unit is not a "hard sell" for active participation. Students will learn how Americans participate, why they are or are not active, how one could become active and make his influence felt if he wanted to do so, and what the costs and rewards of political activity are. Obviously, we hope that through our approach students will become more interested in politics and will have a greater sense of political efficacy. We do not disagree with the objectives of existing civics courses, but we believe that the "preachment approach" is ineffective with adolescents.

Unit III focuses upon individual citizens occupying "unofficial" political leadership roles. "Unofficial" political leaders are defined as citizens who exert political influence beyond that of typical American citizens but who do not hold positions in government. This is one of the topics in political education most neglected by existing high school civics and government courses. Present courses focus upon citizens and occupants of government positions. This ignores many people who are not often recognized as holding political positions but who are, nonetheless, immensely important in determining political decisions. Therefore, students will study community elites, political parties, interest groups, etc. They will investigate how people are recruited and trained for these "unofficial" leadership roles, how they exert influence, how they maintain their support and so on. Moreover, students will examine the costs and rewards for people who occupy such roles.

Unit IV is about citizens who are "official" political leaders, those who are employed by government. Four types of official leaders are studied: bureaucrats, legislators, judges, and heads of executive branches of government. By organizing the study of leaders in this way, students will become more conscious of the functional relationship that exists among mayors, governors, and the President, for example. Bureaucrats are ignored in most existing courses, despite the fact that there are more of them than there are other types of government personnel and despite the fact that citizens normally have more contact with bureaucrats than with other government officials. While much is known about bureaucrats and their role behavior, little of this knowledge is available to students through existing courses.

Throughout their study of the four types of official political leaders, bureaucrat, legislator, judge, and executive, students are expected to seek answers to questions like the following:

1. Who are official political leaders, and how are they recruited?
2. What is their socio-economic background?
3. How are they distinguished from the rest of the population by education, class, race, ethnic group, religious affiliation, etc.?
4. How were they trained for their roles? What special training or skill is required? Are these skills widely shared by the populace as a whole? Are these skills natural or rare? Can they be cultivated?
5. What expectations does the polity make of them?
6. How do they perceive their roles?
7. What norms or rules guide or constrain their conduct?
8. What do Americans demand in customs, habits, morality, etc. of their leaders?
9. What are the costs and rewards of leadership?
10. To what extent are leaders conditioned by their offices and to what extent is personality an important factor?
11. What personality characteristics seem to accompany various leadership roles? Do people seek these roles because of their natural personality or does the role determine their personality?
12. Do national leaders differ as a group from state and local leaders? Do leaders tend to be different according to function -- e.g. are governors different from legislators, from judges, etc.?
13. To what extent do men occupy various leadership roles during a lifetime?
14. What happens to "retired" leaders?

The goals we hope to accomplish are similar to those of existing civics courses, although we have included some topics that many civics courses ignore and ignored others that civics courses presently teach. The principal difference between our course and the typical civics course lies in our perspective and the strategies we use to teach students. Some of the pedagogical implications of our course are discussed in the following section.

Some Essential Characteristics of the Course in American Political Behavior:

There are a number of topics that dominate current writing and discussion on teaching the social studies. Among the most important of these topics are the following: the structure of the discipline, the use of concepts in designing curriculum; teaching the processes or modes of inquiry in social studies, and the role of values in social studies instruction. In one way or another, each social studies curriculum designer must come to terms with these issues before proceeding with his own work. Some have turned their backs to one or more of them; others have tried to ascribe meaning to them that relates to their own curricular design. I have chosen to describe our approach to these issues at some length in this paper, not only because the reader has a right to know what we mean when we use these terms in curriculum design, but also because some discussion about these issues also clarifies aspects of our course in American Political Behavior. For the most part, this essay is based upon the assumption that the reader is more-or-less familiar with the debates that surround these issues. I have chosen to identify only our stance.

Structure of a discipline. Jerome Bruner's book, *The Process of Education*, has had an enormous influence upon curriculum development efforts in the social studies. Bruner's notions about "structure" was one of the powerful ideas contained in this book. Bruner argued that every discipline has a way of approaching its subject matter, that the way a scholar studies the subject matter of his discipline constitutes a kind of "structure of the discipline," and that the best way to teach children about a given discipline is to teach them the structure of the discipline. By grasping the structure of a discipline, students have a handle for organizing data and making sense of the discipline.

Bruner's views on "structure" have had both positive and negative effects. Positively, his ideas have encouraged developers to search for new ways to organize or to structure subject matter. The negative contribution is not so much the fault of Bruner as it is the simplistic way in which his notion has been interpreted. It has led some to search for "the structure" of each discipline, as if structure were something almost metaphysical -- a kind of natural law -- that once discovered would resolve all problems relating to selection of content. Certainly, Bruner never intended this. Others understood that Bruner meant intellectual structures, patterns of organization that scholars have constructed in their own minds through their experience that enable them to order the data in their own fields. This understanding led some curriculum developers to ask scholars in each of the social science disciplines to identify the structure that characterized each discipline in order that the curriculum designer might begin his work with greater confidence. While this undoubtedly brings the curriculum designer more closely in step with Bruner, it too represents a naive view of intellectual activity in each of the social science disciplines. The problem stems from a misreading of what a "structure" is.

To the extent that a structure can be identified in a discipline, it simply represents the current theory that some scholars use to order what is currently known about their field. In social science, there is no widespread agreement on such theories nor do scholars normally try to force such agreement. They know that theories or structures serve the purpose of enabling a scholar to keep in mind a great mass of data while thinking about very little at a time. A scholar uses theory to help him learn more, as he learns, he will constantly need to revise his theory. In short, structure is not a "thing" waiting to be discovered; it is a way to organize existing knowledge in a field to advance knowledge. A given structure is to be judged as good or bad according to its utility in achieving its purpose.

Anyone who has paid any attention to developments in political science knows that it is impossible to identify "the structure of political science." The number of "structures" is at least as large as the variety of scholars who call themselves political scientists. Under the umbrella of the American Political Science Association are found political philosophers, historians, sociologists, psychologists, politicians, and many more. Their views on what political science is vary enormously. Therefore, one searching for the structure of political science is doomed for disappointment.

Nevertheless, it is possible "to structure" political science. One can identify an aspect of political science that is deemed worthy to teach, and it is possible to bring data relating to this aspect of political science into some sort of order. While there are no overarching theories or structures of political science to which all scholars agree, there are a number of middle-range theories that some scholars have found to provide utility in advancing knowledge about politics. Such middle-range theories "structure" or organize concepts that political scientists have found useful for acquiring greater meaning from political phenomena. These concepts contribute to low-level theories and are generated by theory. Therefore, while there is no one "structure" in political science waiting in the wings until the curriculum designer calls it to front stage to be taught to all children, there are a number of concepts that political scientists have invented or borrowed that aid them in their work. These concepts are worth knowing; they can be related to each other; and they can form the basis of an organized study of civics and government in the schools.

Concepts. It is important to be clear what a concept is. It is a name for a class of things or events. It is a category. Revolution is a concept, the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution are events, not concepts. The concept of revolution has been invented to classify particular events or things such as the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution. Without concepts there would be no way to process, store, and retrieve data; and we would be overwhelmed by the data pressing in on us.

A simple concept such as mother, for example, permits us to make a number of assumptions about a particular woman, once we have learned she is a mother. We know that she has children, probably is married, is beyond puberty, and likely receives gifts on Mother's Day.

Concepts may be held at varying levels of sophistication. At the simplest level they enable us to make gross judgments and comparisons. As our ability to use the concept grows, so also do the levels of meaning. The concepts "house" and "home" may at one level refer to the same object. However, a woman might refuse to sell her home but be eager to sell her house. The title of the well-known book *A House is Not a Home* seems strange to some but conveys meaning to others who know what is implied by the concepts.

An anecdote may further illustrate the point. According to this account, a woman was walking down the sidewalk in an eastern city. Glancing across the street, she saw her friend rushing down the opposite sidewalk. Cutting across the street, the first woman stopped her friend and asked:

> "What is the matter? You appear as if you have just received tragic news."
>
> "I've just left my son's psychiatrist. He told me that Johnny has an Oedipus complex."
>
> "Oedipus, Schmoedipus! What is important is that Johnny is a good boy, and he loves his mother!"

This joke is humorous only to one who knows what an Oedipus complex is. It is not humorous to a child or to an adult who knows nothing about psychology or "Oedipus Rex." Knowing the concept Oedipus complex enables one to ascribe meaning to the anecdote. It may also be true that a psychiatrist would see more meaning in the anecdote than a layman who has only a vague notion concerning what the term means.

It is important to note that the term Oedipus complex is an intellectual invention used to describe a particular form of psychological behavior. As a scientific concept, it has meaning only because scientists mean something when they use it. If scientists learn that the concept no longer is useful, i.e. new information indicates the term is not so valid as previously believed, scientists will either replace it with a more useful concept or change what they mean when they use it. Of course, laymen will likely continue to use it long after it has been declared useless by science.

The concept totalitarianism illustrates this point in political science. Totalitarianism was invented by political scientists in the 1950's to enable scholars to classify data that was known about real political systems. The concept followed the real conditions and was invented as a way of thinking about these systems. In the last few years, as additional information about these real systems has become available, the concept of totalitarianism has been under attack by scholars. This has led some political scientists to discontinue using the term, while others have sought to bring the concept into line with new knowledge. It is important to note that it was in part the invention of the concept of totalitarianism that led to investigations that produced data leading to an attack on the concept, thereby requiring a new meaning for the term.

Some concepts that we use regularly are so vague that they either have to be qualified or we have to make assumptions about the knowledge and attitudes of the listener in order for them to have any real meaning. For example, all that is known for certain about someone who is described as a "loyal American" is that he is a citizen of the United States. We know nothing about his values, attitudes, beliefs, and political behavior unless we know a great deal about the person who is describing him. Such terms as "liberal" and "conservative" are often used to classify people, ideas, and programs. These terms are so slippery, so open to multiple meanings, that they are practically useless to political scientists seeking to explain political phenomena, unless each time they are used they are given specific, contextual definitions. One of the reasons terms such as "liberal" and "conservative" are so slippery is that they represent a tangle of both normative and empirical assertions. One of the tasks of political scientists is to invent concepts that enable them to classify and organize data more precisely and thereby enable them to derive more meaning from political behavior.

The fundamental purpose of formal education is to enable students to acquire batteries of concepts that enable them to derive more meaning from their experience and the experience of others. Robert Hanvey argues that the essential difference between the "educated" and the "uneducated" man is that the former sees more meanings. The difference between a specialist and a layman in any field is that the specialist sees more meaning, because he has access to concepts that are denied the layman. When I complain to my doctor that I seem to "have caught a bug," he recognizes this as a "folk description" of my malady. Through his own analysis, he will acquire a far more sophisticated description of my illness that he can subsequently communicate with rich meaning to other doctors. He may tell me that, indeed, I do have a "bug," merely because he assumes that I am unable to cope with a higher level of abstraction. However, suppose the same doctor wishes to describe the performance of his "sick" television set to a repairman trained in electronics. The doctor will probably be reduced to a "folk description," indicating perhaps that his T.V. has a "bug" in the wiring.

Political scientists and other social scientists have invented and borrowed concepts that are often unfamiliar to laymen and that enable scholars to see more meaning in political phenomena than do laymen. The principal task of teachers in courses in civics and government is to transmit as many of these concepts as possible to children in order that they may begin to derive greater meaning from political society.

Unfortunately, the growing interest in teaching concepts has led some teachers to claim that they no longer teach facts; they teach concepts, without knowing the difference between the two. They must learn that concepts are simply intellectual inventions that are useful and valid only so long as they can be used successfully. Concepts found useful today may be deemed useless tomorrow. Concepts should be learned for what they are -- intellectual tools that enable us to classify and organize data and to direct our investigation. Many of the concepts that political scientists use today were not used ten years ago. Doubtless many in use today will not be retained into the next decade.

The foregoing discussion is not meant to imply that teachers do not use concepts each day in their instruction on civics and government. The essential problem is that many teachers are unaware that they are teaching concepts and therefore do the task poorly; moreover, many of the concepts they teach are of relatively low order, are relatively useless when compared to others, and often are already possessed by students prior to enrolling in the course, thereby making such instruction redundant.

An illustration may clarify this matter. In talks to high school teachers during the past months I have used the following chart:

DOCTOR SHERIFF
CONGRESSMAN
GOVERNOR MINISTER
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD
NEWSPAPER EDITOR
TOWN BANKER PRESIDENT
NATIONAL COMMANDER, AMERICAN LEGION
ARMY GENERAL MAYOR
SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER
COUNTY JUDGE

I inform teachers that these various occupational and avocational roles may be classified according to a political point of view, and I ask teachers to classify the various terms into categories (concepts) that have political connotations.

First of all, many teachers decide that doctor, minister, town banker, and newspaper editor are not political roles. Therefore, a common kind of categorization frequently suggested is "political and non-political." Some teachers will take the "political" roles, i.e. excluding the four occupations noted above, and categorize them according to "levels" of government, i.e. local, state, and national. Others will categorize them according to "branches" of government, i.e. executive, legislative, and judicial. Some will classify them according to how they gain political positions, i.e. elected and appointed leaders. A few will use the term "interest group" and place the National Commander of the American Legion in that category.

With a few exceptions, the categories noted above exhaust the ones offered by high school teachers of civics and government. This is not surprising. These are the categories contained in their civics and government books. These are the categories they learned in school and are the ones they teach their students.

I recently used this same chart with a social studies education class at Indiana University. For the most part, the pattern of response was identical to that of high school teachers. There was one exception. One young man offered entirely different categories. Among his categories were the following:

1. political socializers: newspaper editor, minister, school board member
2. community elites: doctor, banker, minister, editor
3. pattern maintenance: sheriff, army general

Upon investigation I learned that he had earned approximately 20 hours of college credit in political science. He saw meaning in these terms that escaped his classmates. For example, he saw the banker, doctor, and minister as playing potential political roles while others had ruled them out. Having more political concepts enabled him to derive greater meaning from the data revealed in the chart.

The course in American Political Behavior seeks to translate concepts used by political scientists in their study of political behavior into terms ninth-graders can understand, to structure these concepts into a course of study -- i.e. to bring concepts into some logical and scientific relationship to each other -- to impose these concepts on students, and to provide practice in their proper use by planning investigations through which the concepts are made operational. Once students gain control of these concepts, they will have increased sensitivity toward what is political in their social environment. The pedagogical strategy that will be adopted in each case will be the one that classroom trials of the materials indicates is the one most likely to fix the concept for students successfully. All the concepts will not be imposed in the same way. Two illustrations may reveal some of the variety of strategies that are utilized.

During the first week of the course, teachers will impose the concept of "political behavior." Since the course is about American political behavior, it seems only fair to let the students in on what they will be studying for the following 36 weeks. More importantly, once students grasp this concept, subsequent materials will be easier for them to understand.

The term "political behavior" is defined on the first day. There is some danger in this, because while it is possible to define concepts, it is not really possible to specify meaning. What political behavior means to a student will develop as he acquires experience in using the concept. However, students cannot begin to work with the term until an operational definition is provided. In addition, we indicate definitions for "private" political behavior and "public" political behavior.

On the second day, students are confronted with five, brief anecdotes that they are to analyze according to certain criteria given to them. This includes categorizing the political acts according to whether they are essentially "private" or "public" political acts. On the third day, following a brief description of how one might classify political acts into rough stages leading to decision-making and following upon a description of the way in which political scientists conduct "observations" of political behavior, students are asked to "observe" a political act and report their observations according to the criteria previously established.

On the fourth day, students are asked to read a case study involving a series of political acts spanning one week in an Indiana community that resulted in the decision by the school board to fire a high school English teacher, a decision prompted in part by political statements of the English teacher that were unacceptable to the community. Students analyze this case study according to criteria regarding political behavior that they have used on the three previous days. The case study affords the opportunity for them to apply the criteria learned earlier to a more complex situation. While there are other objectives in mind during this first week, a primary objective is to impose the concept political behavior in such a way that the student can use it confidently and build upon it throughout the course.

Not all concepts are introduced and taught in the same way. For example, before students are introduced to the concept "political culture," they read three open-ended anecdotes relating to three types of political situations that are found in all societies. The students are asked to conclude the open-ended anecdotes by answering the question "What will happen next?" The expectation is that they will respond to the anecdotes in terms of their own political culture. After completing each of the anecdotes, students are presented with two brief ethnographic descriptions that show how individuals from two different societies typically cope with the political situations that were described in the open-ended episodes. Students are asked to compare and contrast these ethnographic descriptions with their responses to the open-ended anecdotes. Next, they are asked to speculate about why different groups of people may typically respond in very different ways to a common political problem. We expect that these speculations could become "intuitive leaps" whereby students will begin to think in terms of cultural influences upon behavior prior to undergoing a systematic study of political culture. Thus, the open-ended anecdotes and the following ethnographic descriptions are made to serve a heuristic function for the students. They trigger insight into the interrelationship between political culture and political behavior. This confrontation episode is followed by a careful study of the interrelationship of political culture and political behavior.

We do not feel bound by an ideology regarding what pedagogical strategy to use each day. We intend to be eclectic, adopting whatever strategy seems most likely to achieve our objective. For example, "discovery exercises" will be used when it suits our purpose; but it is pointless and inefficient to use discovery strategies to get at definitions, for example. If a student requires certain information before he can engage in a successful investigation, we will provide whatever is necessary for him to know.

Inquiry. Social studies teachers and curriculum directors know there is more to teaching social studies than teaching "content." Teaching students how to solve "problems" and developing skills of "critical thinking" are often viewed as important for students' development in social studies as teaching "facts" from history and social science. Beginning around 1963 more was heard about teaching the "modes of inquiry" of historians and social scientists. This notion, associated with many of the new social studies curriculum development projects, probably was borrowed from the various science curriculum development projects that preceded Project Social Studies. The science projects provided unusual opportunities for students to conduct scientific investigations. A desire to emulate the science projects has contributed some new approaches to teaching social studies that clearly distinguishes the "new social studies" from the old. It also gave rise to terms that have become associated with this general mood or approach, terms such as "the inductive approach," "discovery approach," and "inquiry approach."

As a device for attacking the social studies curriculum development projects, some critics have charged that the projects seem intent on training all students to be historians or social scientists. In fact, the intent of the projects seems to be that of operationalizing in very specific ways the more general concern others have left for the problem-solving and critical-thinking skills of students. The interest in inquiry is, in effect, a recognition that all students should learn how to process social science data, should learn the basic rules entailed by logic and empirical investigation, should know something about how assertions and claims can be substantiated. What is strikingly different about the projects is that rather than have students memorize "six-steps" defined as the "scientific method," the projects systematically construct classroom exercises that enable students to acquire the rudimentary skills of logical thinking and empirical investigation.

It is important to note that for inquiry to occur, one must inquire into something. To make inquiry simply a skill one learns, separating it from substantive knowledge, is as foolish as another idea contained in the once-popular cliche: "We teach students not subjects." Of course, we teach students; but we must teach them something. Of course, it is important to engage in inquiry, but there must be an object for the inquiry. The object of our inquiry is American political behavior. We intend to teach students some of the specific techniques that are used by political scientists when they engage in political inquiry, as well as the logic of explanation and the basic approaches to the validation of propositions that are the same for every discipline that purports to be scientific. [A detailed discussion regarding the rules and procedures for scientific investigation are beyond the scope of this paper. A few useful references for the reader who might wish to explore this matter further are noted below.[8]]

Throughout this course, students will learn how information relating to American political behavior is acquired, how it is organized, how generalizations are validated, and so on. As the content of the course is structured, so too is the inquiry process. Students must be trained in the techniques of social science inquiry in a careful and systematic way. For example, ninth-grade students must learn how to organize and categorize data before they can be asked to make inferences from the data. We shall teach students step-by-step how to conduct social science inquiry. By the end of the course, students should be able to conduct small, simple investigations largely on their own.

One of the distinctive characteristics of the course in American Political Behavior is the use of laboratory exercises. These exercises are the social science equivalent of the types of laboratory experiments that regularly occur in chemistry, physics, or biology classrooms. Each week the teacher is provided with controlled social science experiments to conduct, generally in class but on occasion in the field. Students will record their observations and interpretations in laboratory manuals.

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[8] Frohock, Fred M. The Nature of Political Inquiry. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1967. Hullfish, H. Gordon, and Smith, Philip G. Reflective Thinking: The Method of Education. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1965. Kaplan, Abraham. The Conduct of Inquiry. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964. Meehan, Eugene J. The Theory and Method of Political Analysis. Homewood. The Dorsey Press, 1965.

It is important to discriminate this use of the term "laboratory" in civic education from another kind of civic education laboratory made popular in the 1950's. The Citizenship Education Project located at Teachers College, Columbia University contributed significantly to the notion that students should learn about citizenship by taking a more active part in school and community affairs. To further this goal, the community was conceived of as a "laboratory." A laboratory practice contained four essential characteristics: 1) Students were to deal with real situations. Rather than participate in mock elections in the school, for example, they were to participate actively in actual election campaigns. 2) Students were to secure information first hand. Rather than rely entirely upon books for information, they were to ask public officials directly for information they desired. 3) The task to be accomplished was less important than what was learned by doing the task. It was argued that the best way for students to learn about democracy was by taking part in it. 4) Related to the above, students were to take action. They were to make up their minds about an issue and then try to push it through to a successful conclusion.[9]

Our notion of a "laboratory" is quite different. Without deciding on the merits of the idea that students learn best by taking an active part in community affairs, we know from experience that it is practically impossible to have students released from school on a regular basis to accomplish what the Citizenship Education Project would have students do. If such activities are reserved for after school time, the problem of what to do in class remains. Moreover, parents as well as public officials quickly complain if students seem to be demanding constantly the attention of government employees. Another kind of laboratory experience can be created within the classroom.

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[9] Three sources are especially useful for a description of the work of the Citizenship Education Project. They are: Resources for Citizenship. New York Columbia University, 1955; Laboratory Practices in Citizenship. New York: Columbia University, 1958; and Vincent, William S. and others. Building Better Programs in Citizenship. New York: Columbia University, 1958.

It might be useful to describe one laboratory exercise in order to make more clear what we are about. The reader is asked to understand that this classroom exercise is taken out of context; much will have preceded and set the stage for this lesson; much more follows to complete operations only initiated in this lesson. This exercise occurs during the fifth week of the course and is a part of a section on political culture that is a major division of Unit I entitled the "Context of American Political Behavior." This lesson has three major goals: to impose the concept of political symbols, to further students' skill at making inferences from data; and to enable students to offer hypotheses relating to the sources of political socialization that will provide the impetus for future investigation.

The class begins by the teacher distributing to each student a typical Likert-type scale that is reproduced in part below:

Directions: You will be shown ten pictures of objects that may or may not have something to do with the way you think about politics and your political behavior. On this page are ten reaction scales which can help you to measure your political feeling about the objects in each of these ten pictures. Place a check mark in one of the five spaces in each of the scales below in order to show how you feel about the objects in each of the ten pictures.

1.	Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little Or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling
2.	Very Bad Feeling	Bad Feeling	Little Or No Feeling	Good Feeling	Very Good Feeling

. . . . and so on through number ten.

Students are shown ten, 35mm. color slides that are pictures of political symbols. The pictures are as follows: 1) American Flag; 2) Communist Chinese Flag; 3) Statue of Liberty; 4) Presidential Seal; 5) Lenin Medal; 6) Nazi Poster; 7) U.S. Marine Monument; 8) Soviet Political Rally; 9) President Johnson; 10) St. Basil's Cathedral. As each slide is shown, each student marks his reaction to the slide by checking one of the blanks on the reaction scale.

After all the slides have been shown, the teacher distributes the students' reaction scales among the class members so that no student knows whose scale he has. Together with the class the teacher builds a frequency distribution table of class responses to each picture, recording the data on a transparency projected on a screen behind the teacher. The data from a typical class of 25 students is as follows:

TABULATIONS OF REACTIONS TO POLITICAL SYMBOLS

Symbol	Reaction Scale				
	VBF	BF	LNF	GF	VGF
1. American Flag				10	15
2. Communist Chinese Flag	10	12	3		
3. Statue of Liberty				18	7
4. Presidential Seal			5	15	5
5. Lenin Medal	4	15	6		
6. Nazi Poster	2	8	15		
7. U.S. Marine Monument			4	18	3
8. Soviet Political Rally		10	15		
9. President Johnson	1	2	2	15	5
10. St. Basil's Cathedral		2	22	1	

After the data has been assembled in a manner similar to that shown above, the teacher asks students, "What do you conclude from this data?" For most ninth-grade students this represents a leap they are unable to take. Therefore, rather than simply encourage guessing, the teacher helps students build the little bridges that make such a long leap unnecessary.

The teacher may run the slides through the projector again, asking students to note the characteristics of the slide that prompted their reactions. The American flag, the Statue of Liberty, and some others are obvious and require little reflection. The slide of President Johnson always triggers diffuse reactions. A minority react to him as a person, and their marks are therefore based upon whether they like him as a man. A few students see him as a partisan leader; therefore, Democrats tend to rate him high while Republicans rank him low. The majority of students, however, see him as the President, the chief representative of the United States. They assign feelings to him that they hold for their country.

Some slides rarely trigger a strong response. For example, most ninth-graders do not recognize St. Basil's cathedral. One girl who noted the crosses on the tower, thereby recognizing it as a church, marked it "good." When she was told that St. Basil's is on Red Square in Moscow, she asked that her mark on that slide be changed from "good" to "bad." Nevertheless, most students mark pictures that they fail to recognize as "little or no feeling."

After showing the slides a second time, providing an opportunity for students to explain why they reacted as they did, it is but a short step for them to conclude that the pictures represent feelings they have about their country and its opponents. They recognize that they have assigned meaning to the pictures. The slides symbolize social institutions and processes that they either respect or despise. The students are able to reach this idea essentially on their own, although the teacher may have to help construct a definition for the term symbol that can be made operational throughout the rest of the course.

Although the students now understand that the symbols represent feelings they have, they have not explained why they hold such feelings. We have found it useful to draw three boxes, one each around the "good" and "very good," the "bad" and "very bad," and the "little or no feeling" categories. The teacher asks his students to study the symbols represented by each of these gross categories and to explain what they have in common. Students quickly see that the slides marked "good" and "very good" have something to do with the United States; the slides marked "bad" and "very bad" -- represented primarily by Communist and Nazi symbols -- all stand for perceived current or post enemies of the United States; and the "little or no feeling" slides were those that students did not recognize. Many ninth-grade students attach little meaning to the Nazi symbol. For them, it is only an historic symbol, when they recognize it at all.

When I have used this lesson with youngsters, I have asked them whether they think other American students would respond much as they did? American adults? They conclude that their responses are probably in line with other Americans. Thereafter, the dialogue often has assumed the following form:

Teacher: How do you think Soviet students would react to these same slides, if I were to show them to the students at Moscow High School?

Student: Well, they would react quite differently -- just the opposite from us. They would mark the American symbols "bad" or "very bad" and the Communist symbols "good" or "very good."

Teacher: Why? You thought all American students would react in much the same way. Why do you think Soviet students would react so differently from you?

Student: Because from the moment they are born they are taught to hate the United States and love Communism and the Soviet Union. They learn this at home from their parents, from their teachers at school---.

Teacher: How did you learn to respect the American symbols and dislike the Communist ones?

Student: Well---, I guess we were taught to believe this way.

Teacher: How?

Student: By our parents, teachers, at church, and in Boy Scouts, and---

Teacher: Let's write each of these on the board and try to think of other people or institutions that influence how we think politically.

The first part of this lesson is primarily an inductive exercise. The slides provoke the students into surfacing their own political attitudes; the teacher records them on a frequency distribution table; and students are led to make inferences on the basis of the data.

The dialogue described above represents another type of thinking. Students are engaged in retroductive thinking, hypothesizing, or what some have referred to as "intuitive leaping." The data does not suggest the sources of political socialization; but the data, together with the children's experience, and the right questions by a teacher creates the conditions that lead to profitable hypothesizing. By the close of this lesson students are ready to pose hypotheses regarding the agents of political socialization and to map strategies leading to the testing of these hypotheses.

It is important to note that the teacher is largely in control of the operation. For the most part, the responses of students -- at least the direction of response -- are predictable. This means that we can design a laboratory exercise and provide instructions for teachers with considerable confidence that the lesson will proceed in a predictable course. The chemistry teacher and the biology teacher demand even more predictability or they would often lack the security necessary to conduct laboratory investigations with students. Inquiry is often a problem to social studies teachers because they lack the knowledge enabling them to predict where the investigation might lead. Controlled laboratory exercises of the kind described above provide a needed training and experience for students while avoiding unreasonable demands on teachers.

Values. Value claims permeate political discourse. The American system of government was established to secure "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; each of these concepts entail value judgments. Regime policies are defended and attacked according to whether they appear to support or undermine basic American values.

In the American Political Behavior course values are treated as one of the elements of the American political culture. Students will study those political values that seem more or less universals in American culture as well as many of the values held by sub-groups. Students will learn the degree to which values influence behavior. Moreover, they will learn how values are transmitted in a society. The early part of the course affords opportunities for students to surface their own political values, enabling them to compare their values with those held by other groups in America and abroad and to use their values as data from which generalizations about American political culture can be made.

In keeping with the behavioral approach, students will learn to discriminate between statements of fact and statements of value and to recognize the difference between empirical explanation and ethical evaluation. While making observations or stating inferences from data, students will learn to separate what is from how they would like it to be.

The typical civics course preaches American values and provides little opportunity for students to inquire into political values. As most students have acquired fundamental American political values by the ninth grade, preaching these values merely contributes to the redundancy of existing courses. Conducting inquiries into political values need not result in iconoclasm. Although preaching values at the ninth grade might be useless because it is redundant, a conscious attempt by a teacher to overturn children's political values is totally indefensible. Nevertheless, teachers can provide opportunities for students to acquire greater understanding of the values they hold by enabling them to consider acting according to their values.

An illustration may clarify this issue. Americans value the right to vote for candidates of their choice. This value may be viewed as a subvalue of a set of values relating to the majority rule principle entailed by the democratic process. Civics teachers are rarely content with having students value the right to vote; in addition, they attempt to sell students on their obligation or duty to vote. Despite generations of civics and government teachers preaching the citizen's responsibility to vote, many Americans -- frequently more than one-half of the eligible voters -- fail to vote in elections.

We shall approach this issue a bit different from that approach taken by the typical civics course. In Unit I students will explore American political values, including the right to vote. The second unit focuses on the ways in which Americans participate in politics, including as voters. Students will quickly learn that the fact of voter participation in this country is not the same as the ideal. Why reality is less than that professed by American ideals will be the subject of student investigation.

Suppose that students learn that lack of incentive and lack of information are two important explanations for low citizen participation as voters.

Students might wish to consider policies that might add incentive to the voting act and policies that ensure more political information for potential voters.

In a recent election in a large midwestern city approximately 80 per cent of the eligible voters cast their ballots. This is an unusually high percentage for an American election. As each voter left the polls, he was given a dozen eggs. No one asked the voter how he voted, but few doubted which political organization provided the eggs. The leader of the political organization was re-elected mayor by a large margin. In an earlier election in the same city, voters were given chances on color television sets. It is likely that these rewards added to the voter's incentive to cast his ballot. If lack of incentive is one cause for a poor voter turnout, should voters be paid for voting or non-voters be fined for staying away?

In certain communist countries it is a common practice to have regular meetings of citizens in the neighborhood, on the farm, in the factory, at school, and so on. These weekly meetings provide an opportunity to further the political education of the masses. If American citizens fail to vote because they lack information, a law requiring that every American adult attend a political discussion group once a week in order that he might become better acquainted with political issues might contribute to greater citizen participation as voters.

Of course, we are not advocating either of the above policies or any other policy that might increase voter turnout. The illustration was offered merely to reveal one way that students can move from a description of what is to a discussion of what should be. Policy issues rise naturally from an examination of American political behavior. For example, Unit I makes clear that both loyalty to the political system and the right to dissent to regime policies are cherished American political values. The contemporary period is one in which these two values not only create conflict within the body politic, but also conflict within the hearts of many thoughtful Americans. To avoid such issues would be unthinkable.

It is unlikely that our approach to the study of values will contribute to resolving questions regarding the optimum way to study values. Philosophers have been unable to agree on an answer to this problem. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to wait until this issue is resolved before students are encouraged to conduct inquiries into value questions.

If students can learn to avoid confusing normative statements with factual ones, to avoid making factual conclusions from normative premises and vice-versa, to examine the consequences of value choices, and to look for and to make judgments about the premises upon which value claims are made, considerable progress will have occurred. Making students alert to the role values play in political behavior and helping them to acquire some skill in making judgments about various value claims should be a significant contribution to a civic education that has heretofore largely turned its back on this matter.

Pilot Trials and Evaluation of Project Materials:

An experimental curriculum development center must treat its product as an experiment. Once objectives have been clarified and materials prepared to meet these objectives, the entire package must undergo rigorous trial and evaluation to learn if the program is effective. Because they are often reluctant to release their work until it has been proved, curriculum directors have gained some notoriety among teachers who clamor for the experimental materials at an early stage of their development. Unlike textbook publishers who generally make no claims about the effectiveness of their books --

except by occasional testimonials from satisfied customers -- curriculum project directors strive to prepare packages that are tested again and again under varying circumstances until finally they can say with confidence: "If our course is used in the way we prescribe with X kind of students, we predict that it will achieve Y results." It is then left to the customer to decide if he has X kind of students and whether he wants Y results.

The ideal setting for curriculum development is one in which the developer can try his course -- in segments and as a whole, revising and testing, over and over again -- until he is satisfied that it will perform successfully in the hands of others. In fact, such ideal settings rarely occur. Developers are faced by time and budgetary limitations. Therefore, compromises are made in order to abide by the provisions of contracts. While a developer *could* announce at the end of an extended contract that he has nothing to release to the public because he has not had sufficient success in proving his product, in fact there is subtle pressure to produce something at the end of the contract. Developers feel at least two tugs: one to continue writing, testing, and evaluating until they are completely satisfied with the result; and another tug to finish the job.

Curriculum development is a process that passes through five stages: 1) stating assumptions, defining objectives, designing and blueprinting the package; 2) writing materials aimed at achieving stated objectives; 3) pilot testing of the course followed by revisions and additional trials until the package is pronounced ready; 4) evaluating the package through use by teachers not involved in the earlier stages of development; 5) making final revisions and submitting final report. The ninth-grade course in American Political Behavior has passed through stage one. Our assumptions, objectives, and course design were described earlier in this paper. We are currently operating in stage two. Course materials are being prepared for pilot trials scheduled to begin in September, 1968. During the current year bits and pieces of the course are being tried with ninth-graders in order to gain early feedback regarding the difficulty of the materials.

The academic year 1968-1969 constitutes stage three in the development of the American Political Behavior course. The pilot trials will proceed on two fronts. Mr. Patrick and I will teach one class of Bloomington ninth-grade students using the experimental materials. This should afford us immediate, direct, and daily feedback on the course. It is quite possible to begin the revision of a segment of the course within minutes of the time it was taught. A trained classroom observer will attend each session of our class, maintaining a log on both teacher and students. Audio tapes and video tapes will also be used for analysis of the class. We hope through these techniques and others to devise a feedback design that will enable us to spot weaknesses in the program quickly and efficiently.

The assistance of regular classroom teachers becomes indispensable to curriculum development during stage three. During 1968-1969, the American Political Behavior course will be piloted in approximately 20 classrooms in other parts of the country. The pilot teachers who will teach these materials will have been trained in a seven-week institute at Indiana University during summer, 1968. Teachers attending the institute will earn four hours graduate credit in Government while receiving instruction on American Political Behavior from a political scientist, and they will earn four hours of graduate credit in Education while receiving instruction in the theory and pedagogy of the ninth-grade course in American Political Behavior. Members of the Center staff will teach the Education component of the institute. In addition, Mr. Patrick will teach a demonstration class of ninth-grade students using the new materials. In this way, institute participants will receive instruction on the content of political behavior, gain insight into how to teach the new course, and observe the course being taught. Moreover, they will receive special instruction in how to evaluate the course with their own students, enabling them to effectively assist in the revision process. Pilot teachers are almost useless at this stage of development unless they have a clear conception of what the course is intended to accomplish. The teachers who will be working with us should be enormously useful in helping the Center secure a satisfactory product.

The majority of the pilot teachers teach in Indiana, perhaps one or two in Bloomington. We can have regular, personal contact with these teachers. In addition, we have made arrangements with a few schools in other parts of the country. If there is a regional bias in the course, we wish to discover it early.

Hopefully, one year of intensive pilot testing will be sufficient for stage three. By utilizing the feedback gained from our pilot teachers, a revised version of the ninth-grade course will be readied for experimental trials beginning in September, 1969. The course is all but finished at this stage. Twenty to thirty teachers will teach the course experimentally for one year to learn if it produces the expected results.

The research design for evaluating the course is a simple one. While our funds are not adequate to conduct the type of field experiment many would deem desirable, they are sufficient to conduct limited experiments aimed at producing some interesting results. The sample of schools will not be drawn on a random basis. The difficulties in achieving such a sample and the costs entailed are tremendous. From among the many schools that have asked to collaborate with our project, certain representative types will be chosen. The materials will be tested in four kinds of school settings: rural, consolidated, or small town (schools that include a high proportion of rural youngsters); small city (50,000-200,000 population); large city (over 200,000 population); and affluent suburban community lying on the fringe of a large city. These schools should enable us to include in the total sample a variety of ethnic groups and a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds. "Average," "gifted," and "disadvantaged" students will study the experimental course. Moreover, the materials will be tested in four different regions of the nation: Far West, Middle West, South East, and North East.

Each school will be treated as an individual experiment. In order to partially account for the teacher-variable in the success or failure of the course, each school system will provide at least two experimental teachers. Schools will schedule a control class at the same time as an experimental class, enabling us to randomize the assignment of experimental and control students from a common pool of students.

The control class in each school will study the typical ninth-grade social studies course in that school, in most cases civics. The experimental teacher will teach the experimental course as prescribed in the package. He will not be permitted to alter, revise, or delete materials during the experiment. The control class should be kept free of contamination with the experimental course. A few of the pilot teachers who assisted in stage three and who received special training during summer, 1968, will be included in the experiment. At least one-half of the experimental teachers will be civics teachers who have not received special training. One of the factors to be determined is whether teachers can teach the course successfully without special training while relying solely upon the detailed instructions provided with the course.

At the end of the academic year, paper and pencil tests will be given to both control and experimental classes in each cooperating school. These tests will measure gains by students in knowledge about politics and government, in skills of inquiry, and in achieving objectives relating to political values and attitudes. The results of each experiment will be reported separately and will be linked to the carefully defined student population that comprised each sample. Whenever possible, the data from the individual experiments will be thrown together in an effort to produce generalizations that tie success or failure in the course to sex, I.Q., socioeconomic background, school setting, ethnic group, etc.

In Conclusion:

Recently, a newspaper editor asked me what I thought would be the likely consequences to the American political system, if our course were to be used in high schools throughout the nation and were to be successful in achieving its objectives. Suppose Americans were to become aware of the factors that cause them to behave politically, might they not alter their political behavior on the basis of their new perceptions, he wondered. If people were to become aware of techniques used to influence public policy, would this lead to the necessity for new techniques? If people were to become trained observers of political behavior, would they become too self-conscious to participate?

Most project directors do not permit themselves the excitement of thinking about what the world would be like if they were really successful. They are too much aware of the obstacles that impede change in education. Moreover, they are usually distracted by more pedestrian targets, e.g. meeting deadlines during the preparation of course materials, designing evaluation instruments that might provide some valid, tangible evidence of what their courses have accomplished, etc. Nevertheless, the newspaper editor's questions were perceptive. Every project director should ask himself sometime: What if the schools take us seriously and the stuff works?

Kenneth Boulding recently asked the rhetorical question: "Dare we take the social sciences seriously?" He argued that social scientists not only observe and describe the social system, the ultimate effect of their study is to change it. According to Boulding,

> Science is corrosive of all values which are based exclusively on simpler epistemological processes. The natural sciences have created an image of the world in which ghosts, witches and things that go bump in the night are so little valued that they have withered and died in the human imagination. Biology has created a world in which the folk ideas of racial purity can no longer survive. Similarly, the social sciences are creating a world in which national loyalty and the national state can no longer be taken for granted as sacred institutions, in which religion has to change profoundly its views on the nature of man and of sin, in which family loyalty and affection becomes a much more self-conscious and less simple-minded affair, and in which, indeed, all ethical systems are profoundly desacralized.[10]

A kind of scholasticism presently exists in the teaching of civics and government in the schools. Certain "facts," values, attitudes, and beliefs are presumed true. Many believe that the task of the schools is to pass these "truths" on to children and to explain why they are true. Adopting a social science perspective would require that these "truths" be subject to the same criteria for validation as are other claims and assertions. It is easy to understand why some patriotic organizations view the social sciences with suspicion.

Can we take the social sciences seriously? It is true that the social sciences have not yet constructed theories that explain so much as do some theories in the physical and biological sciences. Moreover, it is likely that the subject of man and his society may be the most complex phenomena of all to study. Nevertheless, much is already known that is presently denied to students, much that makes man's political behavior more understandable.

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[10] Boulding, Kenneth E. "Dare We Take the Social Sciences Seriously?" American Behavioral Scientist. Vol. 10, No. 10 (June, 1967) p. 15.

Should we take the social sciences seriously? Are we willing to tolerate the same relentless search for truth that the physical and biological sciences have succeeded in achieving in the schools? It would mean the end of textbook adoption committees that carefully read each page searching for passages that might offend influential groups of citizens. It would end the practice of textbook publishers and authors submitting to all sorts of censorship in order to secure adoptions, a practice that finds modern "medievalists" kept in line by the lure of profits rather than inquisitions.

Should the schools take the social sciences seriously? Despite the risks, it is unthinkable that the schools could answer, no. As knowledge grows, schools are obligated to bring what is known to the attention of students. A vigorous, free society cannot take refuge in folk descriptions. Moreover, denying Americans who do not go to college political knowledge that is currently available to political and intellectual elites seems to be a violation of the democratic ethic. Social science knowledge exists. While partaking of this knowledge may threaten many of the beliefs held by the folk culture, denying students opportunities to gain this knowledge might place schools in the position of supporting a kind of benevolent despotism.

Finally, if social science creates new problems, they will be ones that folk culture cannot resolve. As Boulding concludes:

> It looks, therefore, as if only the social sciences themselves could solve the problems which they themselves might create,

> which looks suspiciously like the principle that another little drink will cure drunkenness. Until we have drunk deeper of this particular spring, however, the dangers of a little learning may be all too apparent.[11]

Our course in American Political Behavior is an attempt to teach about American politics and government through a social science perspective. If the course is successful, students will perceive politics quite differently than those students who have not studied the course. We hope the course, if successful, will be taken seriously.

---

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

APPENDIX C

THE BEHAVIORAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF POLITICS: AN OVERVIEW

by Leroy N. Rieselbach

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The Behavioral Approach to the Study of Politics: An Overview

By Leroy N. Rieselbach

Occasional Paper No. 3

The High School Curriculum Center in Government
Indiana University
1129 Atwater Avenue
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

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Preface

While this paper is intended primarily for high school teachers of civics and government, others who have been seeking a brief, yet comprehensive, introduction to the behavioral study of politics may find it useful. This paper will ultimately comprise one section of the teacher's guide for an experimental course in American Political Behavior that has been developed by the High School Curriculum Center in Government at Indiana University. The course, American Political Behavior, is undergoing pilot trials and evaluation during the 1968-69 academic year with approximately two thousand students in 41 schools drawn from all regions of the nation. American Political Behavior was designed to serve as an alternative to existing high school civics courses. The course utilizes a micro approach to the study of American politics and government, as it focuses upon the political activities of individual Americans, both as citizens and as official and unofficial political specialists or leaders. A glance at the course materials quickly alerts social studies teachers to the differences between this course and typical civics courses that stress the formal, legal structures of government.*

An effort to introduce a social scientific or behavioral approach to the study of politics in the schools encounters a number of problems. Not only do teachers lack suitable materials for students -- we hope the American Political Behavior course is a partial remedy to this problem -- but also teachers have not been taught to view politics through the perspectives of social science. As courses in political behavior multiply in the colleges and universities, it may be that future civics and government teachers will be more adequately prepared for this responsibility. Nevertheless, new undergraduate college courses will not contribute to the retraining of existing teachers. Moreover, it is doubtful that in-service institutes, valuable as they may be, can reach all the teachers who lack social science training for the study of politics.

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*It is not possible to provide in this paper the reasons that led to the design of the course in American Political Behavior. Readers who wish to learn about our assumptions should request a copy of Howard D. Mehlinger's The Study of American Political Behavior (High School Curriculum Center in Government. December, 1967 [mimeo].).

We hope that this brief introduction to the behavioral study of politics will enable those teachers who will teach the course in American Political Behavior to have greater confidence in their ability to handle the unfamiliar concepts and approaches successfully. We fully expect that the teachers will learn more about the behavioral approach than will their students the first time they teach the course. Nevertheless, it seems important that teachers have some opportunity to learn about the assumptions, premises, and style of the behavioral persuasion before they teach the course to others.

We were fortunate that Professor Leroy Rieselbach, a member of the Department of Government at Indiana University and a student and teacher of political behavior, agreed to write this essay. Not only is Professor Rieselbach a well-established scholar who utilizes behavioral approaches in his own research, but Professor Rieselbach taught our pilot teachers in an NDEA summer institute at Indiana University in 1968. Therefore, Professor Rieselbach had an opportunity to test the ideas contained in this paper with the high school teachers attending the institute.

The reader should know that we imposed a number of constraints upon Professor Rieselbach. These constraints stemmed from our desire to use this essay in the teacher's guide for the American Political Behavior course. Therefore, we asked him to be brief, yet to cover the topic as completely as possible. Secondly, we asked that he not use space to compare the behavioral approach to other approaches to the study of politics. The principal purpose of the essay is to inform the reader about one approach, presumably one less familiar to him than others. Finally, we asked Professor Rieselbach to organize his essay around the topics to be treated in the American Political Behavior course. Some readers familiar with the behavioral study of politics may find that some topics they think should have been treated were ignored; others might have preferred a different organization for the essay. We frankly do not know whether Professor Rieselbach would have organized his essay differently or would have treated additional topics if he had not been bound by our constraints. We appreciate very much his willingness to conform to the structure of the American Political Behavior course.

Finally, we decided to disseminate the essay as an occasional paper from the Center, for two reasons. Each year we receive hundreds of inquiries from civics and government teachers who are searching for ways to improve their courses. Encouraged by the interest of many teachers who wish to modernize their courses, we decided to make this essay generally available to civics and government teachers. We believe that many teachers who know nothing about the behavioral approach to politics and who may never use our course may nonetheless profit from this paper. Secondly, we think a circulation of this kind affords us the opportunity to gain a critical review from many readers with quite different kinds of experience and backgrounds. Their views will be considered in any future revision of the essay prior to its inclusion in the teacher's guide and its publication.

Shirley H. Engle, Chairman

Howard D. Mehlinger, Director

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THE BEHAVIORAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF POLITICS: AN OVERVIEW

It is no longer controversial, or even very startling, to assert that the study of government and politics in the United States has been profoundly influenced by something called the political behavior approach. Many students of public affairs are no longer willing merely to chronicle past events or to speculate about the past and the future. Rather, they seek to describe and understand the world in realistic terms; in contemporary language they attempt "to tell it like it is" with respect to American politics. Put another way, the behavioral political scientist proposes to supplement the contributions of law, history, and philosophy to political understanding by providing information about how and why individuals act in political situations.

The hallmark of the behaviorist's effort to understand political reality is his adoption of the closest possible approximation of the methods of natural science. The social scientist feels that, using his formulation of the scientific method, he can gain new insights into the workings of the American system of government. The object of his study is the individual citizen: what he believes about politics, how he behaves politically, and how he comes to think and act in particular ways. The results of such investigations may require a reassessment of what we believe to be true, of the "conventional wisdom." For example, our textbooks and political oratory often tend to glorify the democratic system for its opportunities for popular participation and its high levels of citizen involvement in politics. Yet, students of voting behavior have repeatedly produced impressive evidence that the average American brings a lack of interest and information to the consideration of political matters. Such findings illustrate what studies of the world as it is can tell us about the true nature of political activity.

To repeat: the behavioral approach to the study of politics seeks to use, wherever possible, the methods of science to discover as much as possible about the ways in which political life is, in fact, lived. From such information, the scientist may suggest improvements in that political life, but in his capacity as scientist he seeks to find the "whats" and "whys" of the political world. It is evident that the introduction of the "behavioral persuasion" has to a substantial degree reoriented political science; the approach has become a basic part of the mainstream of political study.[1]

If the acceptance of the efforts of the behaviorists has introduced an element of realism into our store of information about politics, it must surely be desirable for us, as teachers of social science, to pass these new perspectives and discoveries along to our students. College curricula increasingly offer courses with behavioral emphasis at the undergraduate as well as the graduate level. There seems to be no logical reason why high school students should not share the discoveries of the political scientists, both behavioral and more traditional. On this assumption, the present paper is designed to provide an introduction to the rationale, methods, and applications of the behavioral approach.

The essay consists of four sections. The first sets forth the basic assumptions underlying the behavioral approach. Here the effort is to present, admittedly at a rather abstract level, the requirements which the use of the behavioral method imposes on the student of politics. With an understanding of behaviorism behind us, we turn secondly to a consideration of one formulation -- "Field Theory" or, preferably, the "Field Approach" -- of a behavioral perspective on political activity. Finally, we will suggest in sections three and four that this field perspective serves both to promote an understanding of the political thought and action of ordinary citizens and to help account for the behavior of political leaders.

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[1] An essay reflects this newly won centrality. See Robert A. Dahl, "The Behavioral Approach: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest." American Political Science Review 55:763-772, 1960. Note especially the article's subtitle.

I. Science, Political Science, and Political Behavior.

Robert A. Dahl has captured the essence of the approach in saying that it is "an attempt to improve our understanding of politics by seeking to explain the empirical aspects of political life by means of methods, theories, and criteria of proof that are acceptable according to the canons, conventions, and assumptions of modern empirical science."[2] Thus, political behavior, as the phrase is used here, defines a way to study politics and is not a subject to be studied or taught. While our focus in this paper will be on the relevance of the behavioral orientation for the study of American politics, it should be clear that behaviorism can be used, with equal profit, to analyze behavior in other countries or to attempt to understand the relations among nations. Nor, it is worth repeating, is the behavioral approach the only way to investigate questions about politics; it is, rather, one way that may, along with other approaches, help speed the search for political knowledge.

Since, however, it is the positive emphasis on the "science" in political science which most clearly distinguishes the behaviorist from his more traditional colleagues, it seems important to begin our discussion of the behavioral approach by considering the nature of science. At the most general level, science may be defined as "a systematic search for knowledge of the universe and its contents."[3] Underlying all science, natural and social, is an assumption of determinism, an assumption, that is, that there are patterns to the way things happen. To put it another way, science assumes that events are not unique, but rather that classes of occurences are sufficiently alike so that to know something about one event is to know something about another similar event. Just as the natural scientist seeks to discover the factors that cause physical or chemical reactions to take place, the social scientist seeks to isolate the things that may cause particular forms of human behavior to occur. With respect to the latter, the determinist assumption suggests, to take one example, if we can identify the factors that predispose individuals to vote for the Republican candidate in one election, we should be able to specify those who are most likely to vote Republican in subsequent elections. More specifically, we assume that people do not make up their minds anew at each election, but instead use similar reasoning processes to arrive at similar voting decisions in successive elections. Thus to know what things lead to Republican voting at one point in time is also to know what things will most probably lead to the same choice later.

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[2] Ibid., p. 767. For a full treatment of the approach, see Heinz Eulau, The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics. New York: Random House, 1963.

Of course, it is true that human behavior is not as regular as the behavior of atoms and molecules, but this does not vitiate the central point: Human action is not random and, though the laws of behavior may have to take a different form (as we shall see below) in social science, laws of behavior do exist. There appear to be patterns or regularities in the behavior of man, and the social scientist seeks to discern and record such patterns. And in his effort to identify these regularities, the behaviorist employs as much of the methodology, as many of the procedures, of natural science as he can.

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[3] Eugene J. Meehan, The Theory and Method of Political Analysis. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey, 1965, p. 28.

All science, social or natural, shares certain basic characteristics.[4] Among these attributes, and sufficient to indicate the central tendencies of science, are the following:

(1) Science as Explanation. Science seeks to explain what goes on in the world; that is, it attempts "to discover and formulate in general terms the conditions under which events of various sorts occur, the statements of such determining conditions being the explanations of corresponding happenings."[5] Put in more colloquial terms, the scientist searches for relationships of cause and effect. The cause "explains" the effect; knowing the cause (or causes) permits us to say "why" the effect happened.

In the social sciences, it is often difficult to separate cause and effect. Frequently, the best we can do is to discover that certain things go together, that they are correlated. Thus, for instance, it seems clear that a relationship exists between higher social status (i.e., the possession of a college education, a prestige occupation, a good salary, and the like) and a preference for Republican candidates. We cannot tell whether having high status "causes" Republicanism or having Republican inclinations produces the motivation to achieve high status, but we can say that the two tend to go together.[6] The establishment of a relationship, then, does not guarantee a clear-cut explanation of why the relationship exists. The goal of social science, however, remains that of trying to move toward statements of cause and effect relationships.

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[4] The following relies heavily on Ibid., pp. 31-49. For other views on science and the philosophy of science and their relevance to the study of politics, see Vernon Van Dyke, Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960; Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry. San Francisco: Chandler, 1964; and Quenton Gibson, The Logic of Social Enquiry. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.

[5] Ernest Nagel, The Structure of Science. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1960, p. 4.

This last point suggests that we must be careful to distinguish between explanation and prediction. In the natural sciences, experiments can be conducted under laboratory conditions, and the relationships established can reasonably be expected to occur again under similar conditions (e.g., two parts of hydrogen combine with one part of oxygen to form water). The ability to explain how water is formed provides the ability to predict the conditions under which it will be formed in the future. In social science, however, the link between explanation and prediction is by no means as clear. It is known, for example, that since 1932 those with a Republican party preference have constituted a minority of the American electorate.[7] Predicting on the basis of this fact, we would have forecast Democratic victories in each presidential election since then, and we would have been wrong in both 1952 and 1956. We can account for these inaccuracies in terms of the personal appeal of General Eisenhower as well as public concern about the war in Korea. More generally it appears that short-term forces (candidates and issues) led enough Democrats to desert their party to bring about a GOP triumph. Thus we can explain why, contrary to our expectations, the Republican candidate was elected on these occasions, but this explanatory ability will not let us predict in advance *when* short-term forces and *what* short-term forces are likely to produce another minority victory. In short, explanation does not always lead to prediction in social science.

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[6] Bernard R. Berelson et al., Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Political Campaign. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954, pp. 54-59; and Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter New York: Wiley, 1960, Ch. 13.

[7] Philip E. Converse, "The Concept of a Normal Vote." In Angus Campbell et al., Elections and the Political Order. New York: Wiley, 1966, pp. 9-39.

(2) *Science Rests on an Empirical Foundation*. Science, to produce valid explanations, must deal with facts, must deal with the world as it is. Factual data make up the raw material of science, which tries to explain why certain observed facts (events and occurrences of all kinds) exist. Any explanation which science puts forward must rest on a factual base and must be capable of being tested against fact. That is, before we accept an explanation as correct, we must have "proof" -- factual evidence in support of the explanation. It is not enough merely to assert that the upper class prefers the Republican Party; we must investigate the members of this class, by taking a survey, for instance, to see whether they do favor Republican candidates to a meaningfully greater extent than do members of other social classes. If it is "fact" that such a relationship exists, then we can think seriously about accepting the explanation that social class standing is a "cause" of Republicanism (but not necessarily the only one).

Here, too, social science is at a relative disadvantage when compared with natural science, for the data required to generate explanations may not be available. The facts may be inaccessible. With the secret ballot, we cannot be sure how a person votes; we must rely on his report of his preference, and his report, intentionally or inadvertently, may be incorrect. Similarly, a government official's decisions are most often made in private, and it is virtually impossible to look inside his mind and discover his "real" motivation for deciding as he did. Does a political candidate espouse some position because he believes it to be wise or because that stance will win him votes? This is a question, and there are many others like it, to which an adequate answer may be very hard to obtain for lack of accessible data. The behavioral scientist, while recognizing that data may be hard if not impossible to get, nonetheless insists that it is essential to make every effort to get the best possible data, to build the best possible empirical base for his explanations.

(3) Science Produces Generalizations. Scientific explanations grounded in empirical data take the form of generalizations and theories. A generalization is a statement which links facts, provides explanations, suggests causes. In the natural sciences, generalizations are of the form, "If A occurs, then B will occur," or "A causes B." While social science would like to discover such universalistic generalizations (where the relationship between "A" and "B" is invariant, that is, where A always leads to B), more frequently it must settle for probabilistic generalizations, where A leads to B a specified proportion of the time. For instance, not all individuals in the upper social class prefer Republican candidates (as a universalistic generalization would imply); rather the accepted generalization states that, in about 70 percent of the cases, those of upperclass status support Republicans rather than Democrats. Abstractly put, probabilistic (or statistical) generalizations take the form, "If A occurs, then B will follow X percent of the time," or "X percent of A is also B." The proponents of the behavioral approach, recognizing that human action will never be completely predictable, believe that there do exist statistical regularities and their research efforts are directed at uncovering these.

A theory is a generalization about generalizations; that is, a theory relates and explains general statements much in the same way that generalizations relate and explain facts. Looked at from the opposite perspective, pieces of evidence (data) are combined and explained by generalizations, and the latter fit together and are explained by theories. The most powerful form of theory is the deductive theory which consists of axioms from which are deduced more specific statements which, in turn, can be verified by empirical test. Euclidean geometry, with its axioms and postulates leading to the deducing of testable theorems, is one example of the deductive structure.

Much more could be said about the attributes of theory,[8] but it is clear that powerful deductive theories are at least temporarily beyond the capacities of social science. Contemporary behavioral scientists, possessing probabilistic tendency statements rather than universalistic generalizations, have been more successful in producing factor theories. A factor theory is one in which the simultaneous presence of a set of factors leads to a specific occurrence: "If A, B, and C, then X (80 percent of the time)." This kind of formulation moves beyond a simple generalization, suggesting that the occurrence of some behavior is the result of (is "caused" by) the set of factors identified.

The analysis of voting turnout, i.e., the decision to go to the polls and vote, by the authors of The American Voter, illustrates the use of factor theories.[9] Campbell and his associates discovered that five factors were associated with turnout: (1) interest in the campaign, (2) concern over the outcome of the election, (3) a sense of political efficacy, i.e., a feeling that one's vote is important and can affect the outcome, (4) a sense of citizen duty, i.e., a feeling that each citizen has an obligation to cast his ballot on election day, and (5) the strength of the individual's preference for his political party. Each of these factors leads to increased participation in elections, but when all are operative, some clear differences emerge. In 1956, for instance, among those influenced by all five factors (those who were very interested in the election, cared a good deal who won, felt their vote was important, felt a strong obligation to vote, and felt an intense preference for their political party), 96 percent voted in the presidential election; among those affected by none of these factors, only 22 percent cast their ballots. In short, each of the factors contributes to turnout, but when all are present, turnout reaches its peak.

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[8] See the works cited in note 4, above.

[9] The following is drawn from Campbell et al., The American Voter, pp. 101-107.

(4) Science is "Value Free." Science seeks to establish generalizations and theories which help to explain reality; it does not pass judgment on whether that reality is "good" or "bad." We may conclude that high levels of support for Republicans from those on the upper rungs of the socioeconomic ladder is desirable or undesirable (depending on our own values); science, as science, seeks only to determine whether such a relationship exists, and it does so without regard for the question of whether such a relationship should or should not exist. This is an example of what philosophers of science have called the "fact-value distinction." Science is concerned with the former, the facts, and not with value judgments about those facts.

This is not to say that values play no part at all in science. Personal preferences may influence what topics a scientist chooses to investigate; his feelings of right and wrong may lead him to focus on some particular problem. The ethical neutrality postulate of science, however, demands that the conducting of research itself be immune to the influence of values. Similarly, values will influence what one makes of a relationship, what proposals one bases on the relationship, but values should not affect the determination of the existence of the relationship.

Science, then, can but should not be used to surround one's own beliefs with an aura of "scientific truth." Public opinion polls, for instance, can describe the views of the citizenry accurately or they can be "rigged" to indicate popular support for some particular point of view. Not all users of surveys have matched the widely known Gallup and Harris polls in their unbiased efforts to plumb public sentiments. For instance, in 1964, two incumbent Californian Congressmen sought to determine the views of their constituents on a proposal to raise the salary of members of the House of Representatives.[10] One asked the residents of his district:

> A bill is now pending before Congress which would increase the salary of members of Congress from $22,500 to $32,500 per year. Do you favor this 44 per cent increase in congressional salaries?

The other inquired:

> Do you approve the recommendation of a Presidential Commission to raise congressional salaries to $32,500?

In the light of the stress on a "44 per cent increase" in the first question and the emphasis on a "Presidential Commission" in the second, it is not surprising that the first Representative found many constituents opposed the bill and voted against it while the latter discovered support for a salary increase. The incident suggests how the wording of questions may affect responses to them and may bias the quality of information gathered by a supposedly scientific technique. True science, being value-free, tries to assess opinion rather than to demonstrate support for someone's desired goal.

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[10] See David A. Leuthold, Electioneering in a Democracy. New York: Wiley, 1968, p. 55, for a description of this incident.

By way of summary, we may say that behavioral scientists, as scientists, seek (1) explanations of and predictions about events in the real world. These explanations should (2) be built on an empirical base, (3) be cast in the form of generalizations and theories, and (4) be value-free (or ethically neutral) in character. The behavioral scientist advocates and aspires to these goals, but he recognizes that he cannot achieve them completely. He knows, given the character of human behavior, that his explanations are likely to be incomplete and that, rather than permit him to predict the future, they may merely give him a few clues on which to base an "educated guess" about things to come. He knows also that needed data (facts) may be unavailable and that factor theories, not full-blown theories, may be the best he can produce. Despite these limitations, social scientists feel that by emulating the scientific method to the greatest possible degree, they can uncover more of the regularities of human behavior than have previously been set forth. In this way they hope to advance our understanding of the social (including political) behavior of man.

To this point, our discussion has focused on some general characteristics of the scientific approach as applied to human behavior. While this is not the place for an extended treatment of the details of scientific method, some comments about the process by which social scientists conduct research may be in order. To begin, we should recall our earlier discussion about the difficulties inherent in constructing theories. We noted there that deductive theories, those which form generalizations by deduction from axioms and postulates, are generally beyond the reach of political scientists. Instead researchers tend to look for factor theories, sets of variables which, taken together, permit a greater understanding of some particular form of behavior. (The example of a factor theoretical approach to voting turnout was presented above; see pages 9-10.) Political analysts, thus, devote more energy to seeking generalizations linking one or a few factors to behavior than they expend in theorizing in the deductive sense. This means that theories, when they are formed, are more likely to be created by combining generalizations discovered one at a time than to be "invented" by a single researcher. More simply, theories are likely to emerge from the combination of existing generalizations rather than to precede the formulation of such generalizations.

This focus means that we can characterize much behavioral science as "hypothesis-testing." An hypothesis is a suspected or conjectural relationship among concepts or variables. The terms concept and variable, though often used interchangeably, have somewhat different meanings. The former has been defined most simply as "an abstract idea generalized from particular instances" (Webster's Third Dictionary). Thus, the concept "desk" refers to those pieces of furniture, whatever their size, shape, color, etc., whose primary purpose is to provide a flat surface for writing. Similarly and more relevant to politics, the concept "social class" refers to the various statuses in society (e.g., middle class, working class, upper class) an individual may occupy. One hypothesis that has received substantial attention from behavioral scientists is that social class is related to political preference, that is, variations in social standing go together with consistent variations in political opinion.

When we turn to variables, on the other hand, we move to a level of greater specificity. It is here that we encounter the requirement of science that our relationships meet the test of a confrontation with empirical data. A variable is nothing more than an element which can assume several different values. A number of different variables are available to measure the concept of social class, for example. The upper class presumably is better off financially, so annual dollar income can be used to assign individuals a rank on the social ladder. Likewise, higher education and a prestige occupation are frequently characteristics of those in the higher levels of the class hierarchy; therefore, years of schooling and/or type of job can be taken as indicators of status. The variables of income, education, and occupation taken singly or in combination may be used as measures of social class. Our hypothesis can now be amended to state that social class as measured in a precisely specified manner is related to political sentiment, also measured by clearly defined procedures.

In stating hypotheses people commonly make a distinction between independent and dependent variables. The speculation about a possible relationship frequently assumes a cause-effect sequence: the independent variable is the assumed cause of the dependent variable. In the example above of the hypothesis relating class and partisan preference, the independent variable, social class, is presumed to influence the dependent variable, choice between the parties. Specifically the hypothesis states that the higher the social status the greater the tendency to prefer the Republican party, its candidates, and its stands on issues of the day. The attributes of high status are presumed to "cause" a liking for Republican alternatives. In operational terms, we may investigate to see whether those of higher educational attainment or with greater income do express preferences for Republican nominees and issue positions.

This process of moving from an abstract hypothesis toward a set of procedures to test the hypothesis is often designated "operationalism," or the process of "operational definition." It refers to the assigning of meaning to a concept by specifying the exact procedures (operations) which are used to measure the concept (or more accurately the variable which serves to link the concept to reality). An hypothesis, then, states a speculative relationship among variables, and operationalism defines the procedures by which the terms of the hypothesis are given meaning. Such operational specification permits successive tests of an hypothesis to be performed in a manner designed to promote confidence in the test results. If differing procedures are used, we cannot tell whether differing results reflect differences in procedures or differences in the relationship itself.

In addition to this attempt to avoid the pitfalls of inconsistent definition and usage, political scientists also seek to establish relationships independent of possible contaminating factors. This is the social science equivalent of the kinds of control over outside forces available to the natural scientist in his laboratory. For example, we may establish the relationship between social class and political views by conducting an opinion survey in Indiana. In this simple case we cannot tell whether class or residence in the Midwest accounts for preferring the Republican party. Before we can assert the relationship with confidence, we must be sure that region of residence is not contaminating our findings. To gain this certainty, we must "control" for region. This can be done by performing the same test, using the same operations, in other regions of the country. If in each case high status continues to be associated with Republican leanings, we can assert that the relationship is unaffected by regional considerations; it exists in all parts of the nation.

If our hypotheses are verified, that is, if the conjectured relationship is found to exist with the potentially contaminating forces controlled, we are in a relatively strong position to elevate our finding to the status of a generalization (or, as some writers prefer, a law).[11] It is generalizations, as we have seen, that are the goals of science and that imaginative and inventive minds may combine into theories. The hypothesis-testing process, then, is the hallmark of contemporary behavioral science. The social scientist, seeking laws and theories, proposes hypotheses relating concepts and variables, defines these concepts and variables in operational terms to facilitate empirical tests of the hypotheses, and seeks to control for other variables which might impair a true test. In these ways, he endeavors to approximate the methods of science as closely as he can and to obtain results in which he can have a maximum degree of confidence.

II. The Field Perspective on Political Behavior.

The previous section has suggested, very briefly and in abstract terms, some of the basic aims and methods of social science. Here we shift our focus to the application of social science to the study of politics. The individual emerges at the center of attention; groups are viewed as little more than collections of individuals. The behavioral political scientist seeks to uncover the causes of, or influences on, individual belief and activity. To do so, he looks for all the possible relevant variables (factors) which affect individual behavior. Put more formally, he seeks generalizations which link any of a very large number of independent variables to the dependent variables of citizen opinion and political behavior.

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[11] Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965, p. 31. For other treatments of the methods of social science, see Claire Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations. New York: Holt, 1959; and William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952.

The field approach or perspective is one, but by no means the only, way to sort out the multitude of potentially influential variables.[12] This approach conceives of the individual as a biological and human entity existing within social and cultural environments.[13] It suggests that to understand behavior it is necessary to look at the individual and at the situation he is in at the time he must choose among alternative behavior possibilities. The field perspective attempts to take into account all major forces that may shape what a person thinks, says, or does. These potentially relevant forces can be subdivided into three broad categories: (1) cultural, (2) sociological, and (3) psychological or personal. In addition, every individual undergoes a socialization or learning process in which he is taught the things society deems appropriate for him to know and act upon. Let us examine each of these elements of the field in more detail.

In the first place, each individual exists within a given culture, that is, within "a system of norms shared by the members of society," one that includes "the prescriptions and proscriptions indicating how things should be done or should be appraised."[14] As Americans, we live within a culture that directs us to behave politically in certain expected ways. To cite one example, our culture impels us to participate actively in politics; as "good citizens," we are expected to vote, to know something about the issues, to contribute financially to the "party of our choice," and so forth. A person's political behavior, then, may reflect to some extent the culture in which he lives.

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[12] The bulk of this and the succeeding four paragraphs are drawn, often verbatim, from the editors' Introduction to Leroy N. Rieselbach and George I. Balch (eds.), Psychology and Politics: An Introductory Reader. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969, pp. 4-6.

[13] A recent and thorough explication of the field orientation is J. Milton Yinger's Toward A Field Theory of Behavior. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.

[14] Ibid., p. 74.

Beyond the dictates of culture, an individual's beliefs and behavior are bound up in the network of social groupings of which he is a part. He may belong to some primary groups -- those of which he is more than merely a formal member, in which he is an active participant, and with whose members he interacts on a personal and relatively spontaneous basis. Many Americans, for example, are deeply committed to church, ethnic, labor union, veterans', and many other types of voluntary associations. In addition to these more immediate memberships, individuals are members of secondary, or categoric, groups. They do not meet face to face with their fellow members but belong by virtue of their own position in society -- socioeconomic status, adherence to some religious denomination, employment in a particular occupation -- to broad class, religious, occupational, and other groups. What is important here is that a person may develop ways of thinking and acting which are appropriate to his membership in groups of this sort. He may learn how to approach a topic from his fellow members or he may feel social pressure to adjust his views and behavior and make them more consistent with group standards, thus protecting his own status within the group. In either case, however, what he does politically and otherwise will bear the imprint of his involvement in various positions in the social world of which he is a part.

But an individual is by no means a helpless pawn being pushed and pulled by cultural and social forces. Rather he is a distinct, autonomous person, whose behavior, while influenced by the cultural and social situations in which he finds himself, will reflect the kind of individual he is. What he is, in part, is determined by his biological make-up.

His physical powers and his intelligence will be limited by his natural endowments, that is, by his genetic inheritance. No parents, however doting and devoted to their child, can make a genius of a son or daughter whose IQ is near 80. A person's biological attributes, in short, impose limitations on the ways in which he may develop.

Within these limits, however, individual development may proceed along a nearly infinite variety of paths. As he matures, the individual discovers how to deal with the environment in which he lives; he comes to develop characteristic modes of responding. Recognizing this fact, implicitly at least, we refer to people who shy away from social contacts, who prefer isolation to the company of others, as introverted, or we label as aggressive those who respond to frustrating circumstances by striking out violently at the perceived source of their discomfort. What this means is that the individual brings something of himself to his behavior. Yinger refers to this as the individual's character -- "what he brings into the behavioral situation"[15] -- while other writers use the term "personality" to convey the same meaning. Whatever word is used, the fact remains that these attributes of the individual, like the cultural and social factors discussed above, must be considered in attempts to understand and explain political activities of Americans.

People are not born with developed personalities any more than they have knowledge of cultural or group norms and expectations at birth. The impact of culture and group as well as the development of personality takes place through a learning process known as socialization. As Roberta Sigel puts it:[16]

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[15] Ibid., p. 141.

> Political socialization is the gradual learning of the norms, attitudes, and behavior accepted and practiced by the on-going political system.

* * * *

> Viewed this way political socialization would encompass all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally non-political learning which affects political behavior such as the learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics.

Therefore, we must examine the process by which dispositions to act are acquired, that is, the process of political socialization, in any attempt to generalize about the influence of culture, group, and personality on political behavior.

The notion of role provides a convenient way to see the simultaneous influence of culture, social structure, and personality operating through the socialization process. Colloquially, we speak of individuals playing roles with respect to some audience. More formally, role may be defined as "the rights and duties, the normatively approved patterns of behavior" for people in given positions in society.[17]

Role, thus defined, has both social (or structural) and cultural attributes. A position refers to a specific place in a social structure. The rights and obligations of a position tend to be formalized and codified. A number of ways of behaving are required or forbidden by law, or some set of rules, to the occupant of a position. Violating these rules will, of course, lead to the invoking of formal, legal sanctions. In cultural terms, a role consists of a set of norms or expectations about how the person who takes the role should act. Those who occupy roles learn that there are some things which they are expected to do, some things which they must refrain from doing, and that those who violate the norms, while not subject to formal sanctions, may be punished informally. They may be ignored, socially ostracized, or generally deprived of the rewards which successful role-playing brings.

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[16] Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values. In Roberta Sigel (ed.), "Political Socialization," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 361:1-9, at p. 2, September, 1965. The second quoted passage is from Fred I. Greenstein, "Political Socialization," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. New York: Crowell Collier, 1967.

[17] Yinger, Toward A Field Theory of Behavior, p. 99.

A distinction must be made between role and role behavior. Role defines how the role-player, whoever he may be, is expected to behave. Role behavior consists of what a particular player of the role actually does. The behavior he exhibits may or may not match what others expect him to do, how they expect him to play the role. Inappropriate behavior may occur for a number of reasons. In the first place, the occupant of a role may be personally incapable of meeting demands of the role. We are all familiar with people who seem temperamentally unsuited for certain roles (e.g., husband or wife, group member, citizen, and the like), and when such individuals are thrust into such roles, their personalities will render it difficult for them to behave appropriately. Secondly, the occupant of a role may not know what behaviors are expected of him, and he may act in unacceptable fashion until he is socialized, until he learns the behaviors which those with whom he must deal expect of him. In this socialization process, the role player may discover that there is no agreement about how he should behave. The people with whom he must interact do not agree on what is proper activity for him to engage in. In fact, he may be confronted by incompatible expectations. His role may require him to deal with two or more sets of people, each of which wants him to perform different and incompatible actions. Part of the socialization process involves learning how to cope with such varying expectations. For these reasons, role behavior may depart from the norms and expectations which define the role.

We may illustrate some of these points by examining the role of teacher. A classroom teacher, first of all, must work within the limits set forth in his contract and in the operating rules of his school. These comprise the formal aspect of his role, and violations will expose him to formal penalties. At the same time, the teacher must meet the expectations imposed by a number of audiences -- his students, their parents and the larger local community, his fellow teachers, and his school administrators. The feelings of these groups about what should go on in the classroom will create for the teacher difficult and perhaps controversial choices about, among other things, the curriculum -- what topics to emphasize, whether to deal with contemporary political issues, etc. -- and about rules of student conduct. Each teacher will learn about the demands of these audiences and may develop successful ways of dealing with them. As a result of his socialization, he will discover how to adapt his behavior to these formal and informal pressures. Unsatisfactory adaptation may reflect personality; the teacher may possess personal needs which outweigh for him the necessity of "learning the ropes" in his school.

In short, the concept of role provides a way of visualizing the four classes of variables -- cultural, social, psychological, and socializing -- which the field approach singles out for attention. Role behavior will be an adjustment of the demands of culture, group, and personality. The behavioral political scientist seeks generalizations which link variables from each of these categories to political activities of individuals. The value of the field perspective is that it helps to ensure that research will at least consider each class of factors, will examine all potentially relevant forces, in its search for generalizations with explanatory and predictive value.[18]

III. The Political Behavior of American Citizens.

In this section we will use the field orientation to structure a discussion of some of what political behaviorists think they have learned about the political beliefs and actions of Americans. Here we cannot cover the voluminous literature on many of these topics, but can only illustrate the ways in which the field approach categories serve to focus attention on potentially important variables.[19] Because many studies have been done, however, does not mean that most of the work of understanding political behavior is finished. Many questions remain unanswered. Many others have been treated only in partial fashion; much work is required to see whether generalizations established in one group or in one part of the country hold in other groups and regions as well. If we visualize the understanding of political behavior as a giant jigsaw puzzle, we can say that only a few of the pieces have been put in place; much is still to be done. Nonetheless, much has been accomplished, and we will review some of the most interesting results which students of politics have achieved.

1) Political Culture. Political culture, it will be recalled, is

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[18] It should be obvious that the field approach is not a theory. Rather, it is an orientation, a way of organizing the questions to be asked about political behavior. The approach does not make predictions about relationships; it merely suggests that the important relationships in political science may relate variables from all four of its basic categories to behavior. It remains for empirical research to specify the precise nature of these relationships.

[19] For recent attempts to review in systematic fashion much of the behavioral research, see Robert E. Lane, Political Life. New York: Free Press, 1959; and Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

"the pattern of individual attitudes toward politics" held by citizens,[20] the widely shared orientations -- values, norms, and expectations -- about how politics is, and should be, carried on. These views, while very general and vague in character, provide the broad context within which more specific political activity is conducted. These beliefs and practices impose a set of expectations on those who share in the culture; citizens will be reluctant to act in ways which violate the norms. Recent events make clear that not all Americans subscribe to the dictates of our political culture, and that the content of the culture may be changing. However, it appears from present evidence that there exists a basic set of beliefs about politics which may influence contemporary political behavior.

William C. Mitchell has summarized these beliefs and has set out the elements of "the American belief system," as follows:

> Politics is a "low" form of activity; it is to be minimized; private action is preferable to politics.
>
> Political power is evil; the American system of government is designed to prevent concentrations of power. But use of power is approved in time of crisis (e.g., in war or depression).
>
> Rational-legal authority is preferred; power vests in offices not in men; laws apply equally to all men.
>
> Citizenship is a duty; the "good citizen will participate in the affairs of his community.

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[20] Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach. Boston: Little, Brown, 1966, p. 50. For other general discussions of political culture, see Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965, Ch. 1; David M. Potter, People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954; and Bernard Hennessy, Public Opinion. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1965, Ch. 10.

> Americans feel ambivalent toward compromise; they stress both principle and accommodation, the former on basics, the latter on subsidiary issues.
>
> Action is justified in the name of the public interest; responsible behavior seeks to advance the public good.
>
> Politics is a game; rules are well defined; people want to see who wins, but seldom take part themselves.[21]

There is evidence to suggest that Americans respond to politics in these ways. Only a few political leaders -- the President, Senators, Supreme Court Justices -- seem to be accorded high prestige; few parents evidence elation at the prospect of a career in politics for their children. Our political oratory abounds with such phrases as "government of, by, and for the people," and a "government of laws, not of men." We have already noted the existence of a sense of citizen duty to participate in politics, at least to vote. At the same time, however, few citizens do more than vote; most are prepared to watch from a distance. Finally, observers of the American political scene have often noted the stress on principle, responsibility, the public (as opposed to private) good, and morality in political discussion coupled with pragmatism, bargaining ("log-rolling"), and compromise in political action.[22] Such views as these constitute the orientation of the American political culture toward politics.

Another set of beliefs pertains to the "rules of the game," the accepted modes for conducting political affairs. Prothro and Grigg illustrate the widespread acceptance of the norms of majority rule and minority rights.[23] A minimum of 94.7 percent of those surveyed agreed with statements such as "Public officials should be chosen by majority vote," and "The minority should be free to criticize majority decisions." This broad general agreement on principles, Prothro and Grigg found, did not carry over to specific applications of the principles. More than half of those interviewed would bar a Communist from office even if he were "legally elected" or, despite a commitment to majority rule in the abstract, would limit the right to vote to those who pay taxes. Similarly, large numbers would reject certain specific applications of minority rights. In short, Americans pay at least lip service to vague notions about how democratic politics should be conducted, but they do not always apply these notions in specific situations.

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[21] William C. Mitchell, The American Polity. New York: Free Press, 1962, pp. 105-121.

[22] Such observations have long been commonplace. See, for example, Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America. New York: Vintage Books, 1954, first published in 1835.

One other formulation of political culture in America deserves mention here: David Riesman's views as set forth in his famous book, _The Lonely Crowd_.[24] Riesman suggests that orientations toward politics reflect basic character or personality types and he perceives an alteration in the American character type accompanied by changes in political style. In an earlier era, the "inner-directed" man was common; this individual had his goals implanted in him early in life and he continued to seek those goals as he matured. He was guided by a "psychological gyroscope" which kept him on course, in search of his life aims, despite changes in his external environment. He felt the need to produce, to achieve, to "be his own man."

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[23] James W. Prothro and Charles M. Grigg, "Fundamental Principles of Democracy." _Journal of Politics_ 22:276-294, 1960.

[24] New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.

In politics, the inner-directed character manifests itself in the style of the "moralizer." As an individual with deeply held commitments to life goals, the inner-directed man sees politics, like other areas of endeavor, as something that he can manipulate in order to achieve his purposes. His sense of responsibility, his desire to achieve, led him to get involved in politics when he saw goals to be achieved by participation. This participation tended to be motivated by "indignation," by a sense of wrongs needing to be corrected. The job of the inner-directed type was to bring about desirable (moral) ends, in politics as in other fields.

In contemporary times, a new character type has emerged: the other-directed type.[25] In contrast to inner-directed man, the other-directed individual is moved by external rather than internal drives. His orientation is toward other people; he takes direction from them rather than from his own life goals. He derives satisfaction not from production or achievement but from the response of others to him. His psychological mechanism is like radar; he is attuned to what other people say and do, and his goals shift with changes expected of him.

The political manifestations of other-direction include the style of the "inside-dopester." Rather than a concern with setting things right, the other-directed inside-dopester seeks merely to understand politics, to be "in the know." He can satisfy his peers by the mere possession of knowledge, and he sees no need to participate actively in politics. He is a consumer rather than a producer, a spectator not an activist. His orientations are toward tolerance (not moralism) and he values sincerity rather than performance. He looks, in politics or elsewhere, for those who appear trustworthy, whose word can be taken at face value, whose knowledge is reliable.

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[25] As Riesman makes clear, this is not a simple substitution of one type for another. Both inner- and other-directed types have existed throughout history. The point is that Riesman believes that in the modern era the latter has replaced the former as the most common character type.

In a word, conformity, the desire to get along, dominates the other-directed era. Thus, a bandwagon psychology permeates politics -- candidates urge voters to "get on board," not to be "left out," to "back a winner." The mass media emphasize images not issues. Political culture -- the basic orientations to politics, the approved ways of doing things -- rests on the other-directed character type.

In summary, whether we talk about political culture in terms of basic beliefs or dominant character types, the essential point remains the same. There exist, whatever their foundation, commonly held and accepted norms and expectations about politics, the ways it should be conducted, and the behaviors which are inappropriate. These values influence the way people act politically; they permit some things to be done, they virtually eliminate recourse to other forms of action. Political culture, then, vague and general though it may be, provides the context in which political behavior occurs. It delineates the outer limits of acceptable behavior; within these limits there remains substantial room for variation.

2) Political Sociology. Social factors may account for part of this variation. Though living within a national political culture, the citizen is more immediately involved in a network of group affiliations. He is part of a family, he probably holds a job, and he may very well belong to one or more voluntary associations. In addition, he will be a member of a number of what were labelled above as categoric or secondary groups, such as class, religious, and ethnic groups. All of these associations

combine to create a social "life style" for an individual,[26] a way of life which will affect his political beliefs and behavior. Each group, from the more intimate family to the more remote categoric associations, may have politically relevant norms, values, and opinions which it may impress upon its members, present and potential. Failure to act in keeping with group sentiments may destroy the possibility of satisfactory membership; thus if he values belonging to the group, the member may feel pressure to adjust his attitudes and activities in the direction of the group norms. Sociologists and behavioral political scientists have uncovered many relationships linking sociological factors to political behavior; some of these are reviewed here.

Social Class. Our earlier examples focused on social class, and, as indicated, position on the social ladder appeared to influence behavior. Status affects what people think politically. Taking education and occupation as the identifying marks of the upper class, we can see differences in political preferences among the social strata. For instance, the college educated consistently give more support to Republican presidential candidates than those who spent fewer years in school. In 1956, 69 percent of the college educated voted for Eisenhower, while 50 percent of those who had completed only grade school did the same. The comparable Republican percentages for 1960 are 61 and 45, and for 1964, 48 and 34.[27] Notice that the amount of support for Republicans varies by more than 20 percent, but that the relationship between the groups is constant: more education leads to a greater proportion of Republican votes. Similarly, business and professional people (also presumably upper class) consistently support GOP candidates to a greater degree than do manual workers.[28] The upper class -- the better educated and those in prestigious business and professional occupations -- are also more likely to favor foreign aid and other international programs which involve this country in world affairs.[29]

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[26] See Herbert McClosky and Harold E. Dahlgren, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty." American Political Science Review 53:757-776, 1959.

[27] These data are from the Gallup Poll, as reported in Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, September 29, 1967, p. 194.

Similarly, status affects political participation. Milbrath, citing a number of studies, concludes that "no matter how class is measured, . . . higher-class persons are more likely to participate in politics than lower-class persons."[30] This is true of a variety of forms of participation. The upper class votes more frequently, solicits and contributes political funds more often, is more likely to work for a party or to run for office, and so on. In short, it is clear that the higher one is on the social scale, the greater the likelihood that he will become politically involved; this appears to be so because the defining characteristics of high status -- education, income, prestigious occupation -- provide those with high status the skills and resources -- verbal and communications skills, leisure time, available money -- that permit them to take part in the political affairs of community and nation.

Age. The Gallup Poll reports that younger voters prefer the Democratic Party to a somewhat greater degree than do their elders. In each of the elections between 1952 and 1964, voters under 30 years of age cast a smaller proportion of their votes to the Republicans than did those over 50.[31] On the other hand, youthful voters tend to vote less frequently and to participate in other ways less often.[32] Age appears to influence what one thinks as well as what one does. Hero reports that citizens under 30 are less likely than those above that age to consider international affairs important and thus worth much interest, less likely to have confidence in the United Nations as an instrument of peace, and more likely to expect war in the near future.[33]

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[28] Ibid.

[29] See Michael Kent O'Leary, The Politics of American Foreign Aid. New York: Atherton, 1967, pp. 33-35; and Alfred O. Hero, Jr., Americans in World Affairs. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1959, Ch. 5.

[30] Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 116.

Sex. Women tend to vote more for Republican candidates than do men to a very slight extent.[34] What is interesting here is to note that what appears as a sex difference is explicable largely in terms of other variables: age, mortality rates, and region of residence.

> . . . older people tend to vote Republican more often than do younger people. And there are substantially more older women than there are older men [because men die younger than women]. . . . Finally, in the South, women tend to vote considerably less often than men, and since most Southerners are Democrats, the non-voting female there is a non-voting Democrat. The combination of deceased Republican husbands and non-voting Democratic wives creates a disparity resulting in more Republican women voters. . . .[35]

Thus there appears that there is little of the so-called women's vote based on special appeals of some candidates to females. When "controls" are used, most of the distinctions in the political behavior of the sexes disappear. Again, there do exist sex differences in political opinion: women are less involved with international issues, have less information about such questions, and are thus more likely to base their attitudes on emotional grounds.[36] This last seems to be a residue of the view that "politics is a man's business" coupled with the woman's greater concern with domestic -- home and family -- matters. Whatever the reason, sex remains a potentially relevant influence on political behavior.

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[31] As reported in Congressional Quarterly, September 29, 1967, p. 194. See also Campbell et al., The American Voter, pp. 151-153.

[32] Warren E. Miller, "The Political Behavior of the Electorate." In Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum (eds.), Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1966, pp. 89-90; Campbell et al., The American Voter, Ch. 17; Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 134-135.

[33] Hero, Americans in World Affairs, pp. 81-83.

[34] Congressional Quarterly, September 29, 1967, p. 194, citing Gallup Poll data; Miller, "The Political Behavior of the Electorate," pp. 87-89.

[35] Ibid., p. 88.

Religion. Church affiliation seems similarly to be related to political thought and activity. Research has repeatedly found that Jews and Catholics tend to give more of their votes to Democratic nominees than do Protestants.[37] Further, "Jews are slightly more active in politics than Catholics who, in turn, are slightly more active than Protestants."[38] And, as before, there are differences among the religious groups in international outlook: Jews are highly international in their views; they are quite willing, on the whole, to see Americans involved in world affairs. Protestants rank next in support for international involvements, followed by Catholics.[39]

It is difficult, however, to separate the effects of religion from those of class; these two factors tend to coincide. One study, for instance, found that, when status is controlled, differences in opinion among religious groups virtually disappeared. That is, differences between religious denominations tend to result from differences in status; the higher the status of the members, the greater their support for conservative and Republican causes. Jews, of course, are the exception; their high status goes hand-in-hand with liberalism.[40] To account for this finding, we may point to the high cohesion among Jewish groups, and thus infer strong liberal group norms to which the young are socialized. Also persecution or fear of persecution may lead to liberal views and high rates of political participation.

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[36] Hero, Americans in World Affairs, pp. 83-86.

[37] Gallup Poll data reported by Congressional Quarterly, September 29, 1967, p. 194; and Miller, "The Political Behavior of the Electorate," pp. 100-101.

[38] Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 137.

[39] Hero, Americans in World Affairs, pp. 69-81.

To this point, using the examples of partisan preference, attitudes toward foreign policy issues, and levels of political participation, we have attempted to indicate how secondary (categoric) group memberships are related to the political behavior of American citizens. Similar relationships have been found for such additional variables as race, ethnicity, urban-rural residence, size of community of residence, and region of residence.[41] This sort of factor is useful in attempting to explain and generalize about many political phenomena including such things as support for right-wing political movements. To cite one instance, Lipset traces the sources of support in California for the John Birch Society and concludes:

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[40] Wesley and Beverly Allinsmith, "Religious Affiliation and Politico-Economic Attitude." Public Opinion Quarterly 12:377-389, 1948.

[41] The works cited previously by Miller, Milbrath, and Hero, as well as the Gallup data reported by the Congressional Quarterly, are also relevant for these factors. Other important sources include Lane, Political Life; Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966; Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting." American Political Science Review 59:951-962, 1965; Michael Parenti, "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification." American Political Science Review 61:717-726, 1967; and Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967.

> A supporter of the Society is more likely to be a Republican than a Democrat, to live in Southern California, to be better educated, and to be in a higher economic category. . . . [T]he small group of farmers in the sample seem to be the most strongly pro-Birch among the vocational categories. Differences between religious groups are small, although Catholics are somewhat less likely to back the Birch Society than are Protestants.[42]

In short, we can determine the sociological foundations of political groups and political opinion.

But these are secondary groups; people "belong" to them only in the sense that they share some common categorization. What of the social units to which individuals belong in some more meaningful sense: family, work, and other primary groups? It should not come as much of a surprise to discover that these groups with which people affiliate closely have an impact on political behavior.

The Family. The family is probably the single most important influence on its members' beliefs and activities. One study concludes that the family is a "key" group

> which transmits, indoctrinates, and sustains the political loyalties of its members. Voters who support the party favored by their families develop firmer and more consistent habits of party allegiance than voters who renounce the family's preference.[43]

In the 1952 election, to cite some specific evidence, more than 90 percent of the married respondents in one survey reported that they had voted for the same candidate as had their spouses. In the same survey, about 85 percent of the unmarried respondents declared that their votes and those of their family had coincided.[44] Moreover, the nature of the family's political beliefs is important here. The more homogenous the outlook of the family, the higher its interest in politics, the more consistent its partisan preference, and the more closely knit it is, the greater is its impact on the beliefs of its members.[45] That is, the more important and positive an individual's family is for him, the greater is the likelihood that his views will conform to those of his immediate family.

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[42] Seymour Martin Lipset, "Three Decades of the Radical Right." In Daniel Bell (ed.), The Radical Right. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963, pp. 356-357. See also Raymond E. Wolfinger et al., "America's Radical Right: Politics and Ideology." In David E. Apter (ed.), Ideology and Discontent. New York: Free Press, 1964, pp. 262-293; and Nelson W. Polsby, "Toward An Explanation of McCarthyism." Political Studies 8:809-824, 1960.

[43] McClosky and Dahlgren, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty."

Work and Peer Groups. While less powerful than the family, other primary groups, such as work and peer groups, have fundamental consequences for the political views of their members. In most cases, these groups operate to reinforce the political loyalties which the family instills. In other words, people tend to associate at work and socially with those who share their political sentiments. One survey, mentioned above,[46] discovered that nearly 85 percent of the respondents voted in a way consistent with their friends.

In addition, the nature of the job itself may help to shape the worker's outlook on life, including the political world. Lipsitz interviewed small samples of unskilled assembly line laborers, semiskilled relief and utility men, and skilled maintenance workers.[47] Those on the assembly line, without basic skills, performing a repetitive task, and with no real involvement with the total product, were much less satisfied with their jobs than were the more skilled workers. They were more fatalistic in their outlook; they were more likely to feel that wars and poverty were the inevitable conditions of mankind, that government is beyond the influence of ordinary men, and that long-range planning is likely to come to naught. Finally, assembly line operators had more radical political opinions; possessing less and feeling frustrated, they were more ready to try new ways to alter their life situations, to change the status quo.

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[44] Angus Campbell et al., The Voter Decides. Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954, pp. 199-206.

[45] McClosky and Dahlgren, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty."

[46] Campbell et al., The Voter Decides, pp. 199-206.

[47] Lewis Lipsitz, "Work Life and Political Attitudes." American Political Science Review 58:951-962, 1964.

The point of this discussion of primary groups is, to reiterate, that face-to-face contacts and interactions are powerful influences on political behavior. In the family, through their choice of friends, and on the job, people tend to find themselves in associations characterized by homogeneous political beliefs. Thus, they are exposed only to one point of view, and it should not come as a surprise to discover that they accept this pattern of opinion to an overwhelming degree. All of what they hear and see is consistent with what they believe and do, and they are unlikely to be exposed to many forces for change.

This stable and consistent pattern of political forces is not always the case, however, for some people are exposed to conflicting pressures. Upper class Catholics and Jews, Republican women who marry Democratic husbands, individuals whose life style varies widely from those of their parental families, these and many other sorts of individuals experience "cross-pressures," that is, the inconsistent appeals of their varied group attachments. Where the conflicts are unequal, as between an important primary group and more remote secondary affiliations, they "are more likely to be resolved in favor of the preferred group with the acceptance of its political norms."[48] Where the cross-pressures are more nearly equal, a number of behavioral possibilities exist. The individual may avoid making a choice; he may stay home on election day. Or he may attempt to moderate or minimize the conflict by finding some good on both sides or arguing that the group differences are not as large as some believe.[49] Finally, he may fail to "see" the conflict, that is, deny its existence, and proceed to act in keeping with the beliefs of one group.[50]

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[48] Lane, Political Life, p. 202.

In sum, the individual's place in society, in the social structure that his primary and secondary group affiliations define, exposes him to an influential set of political forces. His beliefs and behavior will reflect this social position.

3) Political Psychology. There is more to understanding behavior than noting cultural and social forces. The individual brings something of himself, his character or personality, into each situation he confronts. We shall use the term personality to refer to a person's characteristic mode of response, either in thought or in action, to a variety of external stimuli. We noted earlier the examples of the "introverted" and "aggressive" personality types. Personality attributes or traits refer to the significantly probable response that an individual makes to a broad range of events in his environment. We should note that in common usage trait names evoke particular images, that is, there are stereotypes of the introvert or aggressive person; here, however, our concern is only with those aspects of personality which we can study in a scientific fashion.

Attitudes, on the other hand, are manifestations of beliefs and feelings about specific objects (e.g., the Soviet Union, the Democratic Party,

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[49] This last is the strategy which candidate Hubert Humphrey seemed to be employing in his effort to heal the divisions over Vietnam policy which have divided the "hawks" and the "doves" in the Democratic Party.

[50] Lane, Political Life, p. 203.

Richard Nixon). The behaviorist believes that it is likely that opinions reflect personality to some degree, but it is clear that this need not always be the case. For instance, if a man perceives a number of aspects of the world around him as threatening and responds by rejecting nations, organizations, and people and by proposing to deal harshly with them, we may infer that he is a "hostile" or "aggressive" personality type. A second man who expresses hostility toward a particular nation -- he may oppose the Soviet Union on the quite understandable grounds that it has subjugated the land from which his ancestors emigrated to the United States -- without displaying a generalized fear of all foreign countries (or other classes of stimulus objects) cannot be said to show more than a hostile view of Russia. In short, personality denotes a characteristic response pattern to a wide range of stimuli while attitude describes a particular response to a single object in the environment.

We are not asserting that personality, any more than culture of social structure, is the cause of political opinion or behavior, but merely that it may be a cause. It seems that, in general, the less structured a situation is, the more room there is for personality to influence the individual's response to that situation.[51] The more the individual is hemmed in by cultural norms, by his own information and experience, by his own perceived self-interest -- whether social, economic, or political -- or by uni-directional pressures from his social position, the more likely is his behavior to reflect forces outside of the personality. In the absence of other cues, underlying personality traits have a higher probability of influencing behavior. On the other hand, a subject or event must be sufficiently important to evoke some response from the individual. Obviously there will be no investment of emotion in objects which are too remote to matter. Personality is more likely to be "engaged," and thus to be relevant to behavior, by topics which are important enough to require thinking about but about which there are few prescribed points of view.

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[51] Ibid., pp. 97-100; Fred I. Greenstein, "The Impact of Personality on Politics: An Attempt to Clear Away Underbrush." American Political Science Review 61:629-641, 1967; and Greenstein (ed.), "Personality and Politics." Journal of Social Issues 24, 1968.

Before proceeding to an examination of some relationships between personality and behavior, one point of clarification needs to be made. We must avoid the danger of confusing personality and pathology; to do so would be highly misleading. While some pathologies -- neuroses, psychoses, and the like -- may be expressed in political behavior, these are probably infrequent cases. What is important to realize is that normal people, no less than the abnormal, have personalities. Each individual, whether normal or not, develops a way of looking at and dealing with the environment in which he lives. These modes of responding differ for different people. The point to remember is that these patterns of response characterize all people, and that different patterns may lead to differences in political behavior.

While there remain some controversial issues about the measurement (in the scientific sense) of personality, nonetheless evidence which links personality attributes and behavior has begun to accumulate, and we will review some of it here.

Party Identification. One of the first political feelings which a child develops as he becomes exposed to the world of politics is a sense of belonging to, of attachment to, one of the two political parties. He learns "I am a Democrat (or Republican)" long before he knows much, if anything, about the parties and what they stand for. He comes to have a deeply held identification, in a psychological sense, with his chosen political party. That this attachment is most often taken from the parental family, and probably with a minimum of rational calculation, should not cause us to underestimate the conviction with which it is held.[52] Citizens tend to view the world of politics through lenses colored by party identification; party loyalty provides a starting place for evaluation of political events. Partisan choice influences the perception of candidates. More than two of every three voters know for whom they will vote by the time of the nominating conventions or earlier;[53] presumably they make these decisions on the basis of attachment to party. Along the same lines, it has been estimated that of the 27 million Americans who "couldn't be wrong" in supporting the 1964 candidacy of Barry Goldwater, no less than 20 million were Republican party identifiers who had no special passion for the Arizona Senator and who would have voted with equal feeling for Nelson Rockefeller, Richard Nixon, or any other candidate who adorned the Republican column of the ballot.[54]

Party identification seems to influence positions on the issues as well as views of the candidates. Democrats tend to support issue stands of their party and Republicans do the same.[55] Party provides a point of reference which serves as a substitute for thinking through each issue from scratch when it arises. The individual need not weigh and balance the facts, but need only ascertain where his party stands and adjust or formulate his own view accordingly. As Campbell et al. put it: ". . . [R]esponses to each element of national politics are deeply affected by the individual's enduring party attachment."[56] In short, party identification is acquired early and continues to occupy, for most citizens, a central place in political thought, serving as a basic point of organization. Most, if not all, other political events, including candidates and issues, are evaluated with reference to party identification.

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[52] On the acquisition and influence of party identification, see Campbell et al., The American Voter, Chs. 6-7; Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965; and Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President." Public Opinion Quarterly 24:632-644, 1960.

[53] Campbell et al., The American Voter, p. 78.

[54] Angus Campbell, "Interpreting the Presidential Victory." In Milton C. Cummings, Jr. (ed.), The National Election of 1964. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1966, pp. 273-275.

[55] See George Belknap and Angus Campbell, "Political Party Identification and Attitudes Toward Foreign Policy." Public Opinion Quarterly 15: 601-623, 1951-52.

Alienation.[57] A second personality characteristic which seems demonstrably related to political behavior is a feeling of alienation or estrangement. While there has been some confusion and controversy surrounding the use of the concept of alienation, it seems clear that at the core of the idea is the notion that an individual comes to feel detached from the world around him. He senses a lack of guidance from appropriate cultural values (normlessness); he believes himself to be incapable of influencing the world around him (powerlessness); and he feels cut off from that world (social isolation).[58] In short, because of his inability to see himself as a relevant member of society, the alienated individual cuts himself off from his environment, tending to be cynical about it and mistrustful of its members.[59]

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[56] Campbell et al., The American Voter, p. 128.

[57] The following four paragraphs are adapted from Rieselbach and Balch (eds.), Psychology and Politics, pp. 7-9.

[58] For attempts to sort out the various ideas central to the alienation concepts, see Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation." American Sociological Review 24:783-791, 1959; and Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement." American Sociological Review 26:753-758, 1961.

A number of studies show the alienated to behave in distinctive ways in the political arena. In general, they are less likely to care about politics, to discuss political affairs, or to be well informed about politics.[60] It follows from such findings that the alienated see less reason to participate actively in politics, for the fact of their cynicism, mistrust, and estrangement leads them to believe that their involvement would be pointless.[61] Specifically, the alienated citizen is likely to stay home on election day rather than go to the polls and cast his ballot.[62] Even when he does vote, the quality of his action appears to have a highly negative character. He is likely to view the electoral contest as a choice between evils and thus to vote against the greater evil, not for a candidate in whom he has some confidence.[63] Similarly, the alienated voter tends to oppose local bond issue referendums, apparently seeing no reason why the society at large should undertake such things as school and hospital construction or fluoridation of local water supplies.[64]

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[59] In a sense, alienation is the other side of the coin from political efficacy discussed earlier in connection with voting turnout. The efficacious citizen feels that his voice can be heard politically and he tends to get involved; the alienated person, feeling estranged, believes he has no influence over political decisions and often acts as if influence were impossible.

[60] See, among others, Campbell et al., The American Voter; and Robert F. Agger, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning." Journal of Politics 23:477-506, 1961.

[61] Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 78-81.

[62] Cf. Kenneth Janda, "A Comparative Study of Political Alienation and Voting Behavior in Three Suburban Communities." In Studies in History and the Social Sciences: Studies in Honor of John A. Kinneman. Normal: Illinois State University Press, 1965, pp. 53-68; and Milbrath, Political Participation.

[63] See Murray Levin, The Alienated Voter. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.

Authoritarianism. Another personality characteristic which has received substantial attention from political scientists is authoritarianism. Following the pioneering work, The Authoritarian Personality, by T. W. Adorno and his collaborators,[65] a number of studies have shown that authoritarians (those who make high scores on an attitude scale designed to measure this factor) differ from non-authoritarians (low scorers) in distinctive ways. The authoritarian individual is a person whose attitudes show, among other things, a willingness to submit to strong authority, a desire to dominate those seen as weaker, a tendency to view other people in terms of stereotypes, and a pervasive concern for power and toughness.[66]

To take one example, it seems clear that authoritarians possess a rather distinctive view of the proper content of American foreign policy. They seem to prefer an isolationist course of action (that is, they are reluctant to see the United States too entangled in world politics);[67] they favor a more nationalistic (more uncommitted) policy posture.[68] A detailed analysis by Smith and Rosen showed that people who were isolationist in their policy orientations (or low in "worldmindedness") possessed many of the attributes of authoritarianism. Those who rejected cooperative participation in world affairs were more likely to think in stereotypes, to see threats arising from external sources, to prefer compliance to independence, to be pessimistic about the future, and to admire as an ideal to be emulated a political-military type of person in preference to an artistic-humanistic model.[69] Finally, and more specifically, authoritarians have been found more likely than non-authoritarians to oppose American trade with the Soviet Union and the establishment of classes on Russian society in American schools;[70] to expect war, presumably with the USSR, in the immediate future;[71] and to opt for extreme solutions to complex international problems.[72] This evidence provides substantial support for the proposition that "personal authoritarianism constitutes an important inner source (though by no means the only source) of the disposition toward nationalist and related ideologies."[73]

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[64] John Horton and Wayne Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums." American Journal of Sociology 68:485-493, 1962.

[65] New York: Harper and Row, 1950.

[66] Ibid., pp. 224-242 and passim.

[67] Bernard Fensterwald, Jr., "The Anatomy of American 'Isolationism' and Expansionism. II." Journal of Conflict Resolution 2:280-309, 1958.

[68] Daniel J. Levinson, "Authoritarian Personality and Foreign Policy." Journal of Conflict Resolution 1:37-47, 1957; and Charles D. Farris, "Selected Attitudes on Foreign Affairs as Correlates of Authoritarianism and Political Anomie." Journal of Politics 22:50-67, 1960.

Self-Esteem. It is well known that some people have a confident outlook on life; they seem unworried about their own ability to master, or at least come to terms with, the environment in which they live. Others appear to be much more insecure, less certain that life does not hold some cruel fate in store for them. This trait, alternatively known as self-esteem, self-confidence, or ego strength, appears to be related to political behavior. It appears, for instance, that individuals who feel confident of their own ability to face life's challenges successfully (that is, who possess high self-esteem) are also confident of their nation's ability to survive the difficulties inherent in the world of international relations. At least those with strong egos are less likely to choose isolationism and more inclined to accept the risks which go with active involvement with the other nations of the world.[74] Likewise, those possessed with high self-esteem, with feelings of their own competence, find it easier to deal with other people and thus to participate more frequently in the activities associated with political campaigning.[75]

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[69] Howard P. Smith and Ellen Weber Rosen, "Some Psychological Correlates of Worldmindedness and Authoritarianism." Journal of Personality 26:170-183, 1958.

[70] William J. MacKinnon and Richard Centers, "Authoritarianism and Internationalism." Public Opinion Quarterly 20:621-630, 1956.

[71] Farris, "Selected Attitudes on Foreign Affairs as Correlates of Authoritarianism and Political Anomie."

[72] Robert E. Lane, "Political Personality and Electoral Choice." American Political Science Review 49:173-190, 1955.

[73] Levinson, "Authoritarian Personality and Foreign Policy," p. 44. It must be confessed that not all researchers share Levinson's confidence in the proposition. Many point to methodological difficulties in the work of Adorno et al. and others who followed their lead which require caution in attributing meaning to authoritarianism. The best statement of the criticisms is Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda (eds.), Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality." New York: Free Press, 1954. For a convenient summary of the arguments, pro and con, see Roger Brown, Social Psychology. New York: Free Press, 1965, Ch. 12.

To summarize, we can say that personality, like culture and social structure, seems to suggest a number of relationships to political thought and deed which are well worth investigating. It remains for research to describe the precise relationships between personality and behavior; our use of a field perspective serves only to remind us that the kind of individual we may be, the kinds of personality traits we have, may influence the kinds of political behavior we exhibit.

4) Political Socialization. Earlier we defined political socialization as the learning process by which the individual acquires tendencies

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[74] Herbert McClosky, "Personality and Attitude Correlates of Foreign Policy Orientations." In James N. Rosenau (ed.), Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy. New York: Free Press, 1967, pp. 51-110, esp. pp. 71-79.

[75] Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 76-78.

to act. He learns the norms and orientations of the political culture and he absorbs the expectations about his behavior that the groups to which he belongs hold. Political scientists have recently begun to inquire about the socialization process and have uncovered some of its central features.[76]

It should be noted, first of all, that political learning, unlike classroom education, is unplanned and often unconscious. Few parents or group members consciously seek to inculcate a specific set of political values; rather the learning takes place in informal ways. By observation, intuition, or imitation, the child or new group member comes to sense the generally accepted pattern of thought, and he realizes, probably without much effort, that he will benefit from an adjustment to this pattern. Moreover, from a broader perspective, the socialization process is the means by which societies and groups perpetuate their own existences. To survive, an organization must keep alive its goals, norms, values, and appropriate procedures. This it can do by teaching the younger generation -- its children or its new members -- how they are expected to behave and what they are expected to accomplish.

Finally, it is worth noting that socialization occurs at all phases of the life cycle. As we will see, early childhood socialization is important to an understanding of adult political activity, but this should not obscure the fact that the learning of expectations about behavior continues throughout life. Whenever an individual changes his location on the social class ladder; accepts a new job; moves to a new neighborhood, state, or region; or in any way takes on a new role, he will encounter a new set of expectations to which he will be socialized. The fact remains, however, that most is known about childhood political learning, and our discussion will focus on that period of life. For the sake of convenience, the summary which follows will treat three basic questions about socialization: what is learned (that is, the content of socialization), who teaches (that is, the agents of socialization), and the ways learning takes place (that is, the process of socialization).[77]

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[76] On socialization in general, see Sigel (ed.), "Political Socialization"; Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization. New York: Free Press, 1959; and Richard E. Dawson, "Political Socialization." In James A. Robinson (ed.), Political Science Annual 1966. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966, pp. 1-84. See also John J. Patrick, Political Socialization of American Youth: Implications for Secondary School Social Studies. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, Research Bulletin No. 3, 1967.

The Content of Socialization. Children acquire their first political beliefs at a young age. These early orientations toward politics are largely feelings devoid of much supporting factual information. Children learn, in the early years of elementary school, that the United States is a good country,[78] that its leaders, especially the President, are kind and benevolent,[79] and that the citizen is the central figure in the political process.[80] These findings seem to apply to children in the urban areas of this country; recent evidence suggests that the children of rural Appalachia may have a much less favorable orientation toward the American political system and its leaders.[81] This suggests that a relatively isolated subculture such as Appalachia may socialize its children in a distinct fashion; it may teach a quite different set of norms and evaluations. Finally, it is worth repeating what was noted earlier: children identify with one of the political parties during the grade school period. Long before they can justify their choice, they declare their allegiance to the Republicans or Democrats. And this loyalty is highly resistant to change in later life.[82]

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[77] On these topics, see the works cited in note 76; Greenstein, Children and Politics; and Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

[78] Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Ch. 2.

[79] Ibid., Ch. 3 and Greenstein, Children and Politics, Ch. 3.

[80] Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Ch. 4. See also David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government." In Sigel (ed.), "Political Socialization."

The Agents of Socialization. Since so much political learning occurs so early in life, it is often assumed that the family is the major teaching instrument. This seems reasonable in light of the central position of the family during childhood. We noted above the importance of primary groups in fixing political opinion. Children tend to hold political views which coincide with those of their parents; as Campbell et al. point out, three out of four voters support the same political party as their parents.[83] In short, since the family is the crucial center of life for young people, it is not surprising that it has profound consequences for the political portion of that life. Where the family is damaged and disrupted, its influence is correspondingly reduced.[84]

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[81] Dean Jaras, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederick J. Fleron, Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture." American Political Science Review 62:564-575, 1968.

[82] Campbell et al., The American Voter, Ch. 7; Greenstein, Children and Politics, Ch. 4; and Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President." Public Opinion Quarterly 24:632-644, 1960.

[83] Campbell et al., The American Voter, pp. 146-149. On the general correspondence of opinion between parent and child, see Hyman, Political Socialization, Ch. 4; and Lane, Political Life, pp. 204-208.

[84] Dawson, "Political Socialization," pp. 44-45; and McClosky and Dahlgren, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty."

Recent research, however, has challenged the primacy of the family as the central socializing agent. Hess and Torney, while acknowledging that children learn partisan preference at home, argue that the elementary school is a more important socializer than is usually recognized.[85] Much of what the child learns regarding the operation of the political system he acquires from the school. Similarly, among high school students there is a lessened agreement between parent and offspring on such specific political issues as the federal government's role in promoting racial integration of schools.[86] It thus may be that the family is the prime source of general feelings of loyalty to nation and attachment to party, while on more concrete questions of policy and procedure the schools are a more salient source of political learning. The school may provide other opportunities not available in the family. For instance, there is evidence suggesting that those to whom the school presents the opportunity for discussion, for a meaningful exchange of views, and the right to challenge the views of those in authority develop a greater sense of political competence -- an ability to function effectively in politics -- which carries over into adult life.[87]

Nor are other groups without influence on political learning, though their impact seems more to reinforce beliefs already held than to create new ones. We have already seen how individuals tend to live in an environment in which their primary and peer group associates share their political beliefs. The members of these groups tend to have similar life-styles and thus to possess similar outlooks. And where there is conflict between a primary group and a more distant categoric group, the former usually prevails. These secondary societal groups serve as reference points, places to look for guidance, rather than as immediate socializing agents.[88] Where change in accepted political belief does occur, the individual is most likely to alter his stand in response to personal, face-to-face contacts, though these influences may arise initially from distant secondary associations. That is, primary groups seem to mediate between secondary groups and the individual. Labor union families will teach the values, norms, and orientations which characterize the categoric group, union member, and so on. Children tend to develop orientations toward secondary groups and beliefs about politics which are consistent with one another. Where inconsistencies or cross-pressures do occur, as we have seen, the individual is likely to be less stable in his outlook, more likely to withdraw and become apathetic, or -- if a choice becomes necessary -- to decide in favor of the more immediate group.

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[85] Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Ch. 5.

[86] M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values From Parent to Child." American Political Science Review 62: 169-184, 1968.

[87] Dawson, "Political Socialization," pp. 49-50.

Finally, since there has been much discussion in recent years about the role of the mass media, a word seems in order about the effects of the media as agents of political socialization. The available evidence suggests that the modern means of mass communication are neither the boon nor the threat that some analysts have asserted. In truth, the media serve a supportive not a creative function; because of the operation of a set of psychological processes, generally known as selective perception, the influence of the media in general is that of a reinforcer.[89] Individuals tend to expose themselves only selectively to media messages. They choose to "tune in" to those messages which support views they currently hold. Thus, a committed Democrat will watch his candidate on television or follow his candidate's campaign as reported in the press, but he is unlikely to pay attention to the campaign efforts of the opposition. Likewise, where an individual is exposed to both sides of an issue, he will often perceive only those facets of the message which are compatible with his own views, or, if made aware of both positions, after the passage of time, he will remember only what is in accord with his position (that is, he will retain selectively). In short, citizens select only what they want to attend to from the many messages of the mass media.

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[88] Ibid., p. 64.

The Process of Socialization. Less is known about the processes by which political learning takes place. It does appear that age relates to the form of socialization. Children learn quickly but unevenly throughout the elementary school years, emerging by the eighth grade with a rather fully learned set of basic orientations.[90] Persons, the President especially, provide the first points of contact with politics; knowledge of the institutions of government comes later. Early learning seems to reflect feelings about parents and the home; only later does the child differentiate between the authority of parents and of the President or between the power of rules at home and laws in the nation.[91] Finally, the socialization process is mediated by some sociological factors. The process differs among the sexes; girls, for instance, see politics more in personal terms, and more in narrow, immediate terms than do boys.[92] Intelligence makes a difference as well; "children of high intelligence are more active, more likely to discuss political matters, more interested in current events; they have sense of efficacy and a greater sense of the importance of voting and citizen participation."[93]

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[89] On the effects of the media, see Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication. New York: Free Press, esp. Chs. 1-5, 1960. See David O. Sears and Jonathon L. Freedman, "Selective Exposure to Information: A Critical Review." Public Opinion Quarterly 31:194-213, 1967, for a discussion of the selective exposure phenomenon.

[90] Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 220-221.

To conclude our treatment of the behavior of American citizens, we may suggest that the field perspective requires that we look at four broad classes of potentially relevant political factors -- culture, social structure, personality, and socialization -- in any search for the determinants of behavior. The review presented here leads to the conclusion that each category contains variables which are related to individual activity. Generalizations, and any theories which link them, it seems probable, will include factors from more than one class. Which relationships will actually comprise what theories we cannot now say; all we can do at present is to argue that in the search for an understanding of political life, we can ill afford to ignore any of the sets of elements to which the field approach directs us.

IV. The Behavior of Political Leaders.

If the categories of the field approach suggest where to look for possible determinants of citizen behavior, there is no reason to believe that they should not be just as helpful in any effort to grapple with the influences on the behavior of political leaders. Leaders in American society come in many shapes, sizes, and varieties, and we cannot here do more than indicate, with a few examples, how the field perspective can help to structure our search for the causes of leadership behavior. Put another way, we seek to understand the roles, and the role behavior, of American political leaders. The present discussion will focus on formal and informal leaders.

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[91] Ibid.

[92] Greenstein, Children and Politics, Ch. 6.

[93] Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 223-224.

1) Formal Leaders. Formal leaders, as used here, are those who occupy positions, established constitutionally or by statute, in the formal governmental structure. The category includes legislators, executives, bureaucrats, and judges. Such officials may be elected, such as the President and the members of Congress, or appointed as in the cases of the Secretary of Defense and a number of judicial officers. Formal leaders, of course, are found at the national, state, and local levels of government. The important point is that these roles, wherever found and however constituted, bear the imprint of cultural, social, psychological, and socialization forces, and the job of the political analyst is to establish which factors, in what sorts of situations, are related to the role behavior of different sorts of leaders. In what follows we will use the role of member of Congress to illustrate the form that such analysis might take;[94] it should be remembered, however, that the same treatment is perfectly appropriate for other formal leadership roles.

Culture. First, we need to note that the legislative role is a complex one. The member of Congress must play to a number of audiences. He must play to his constituents, those who hold the powet to terminate his career. He must also find a mode of living with the other members of his chamber, his colleagues as a whole, his fellow party members, and those with whom he shares a committee assignment. Finally, he must deal in one way or another with the occupants of roles in the other branches: the President, the bureaucrats, and the judges. Each audience has its own set of expectations about how the lawmaker should perform his role.

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[94] The following treatment of the Congressional role draws heavily on Leroy N. Rieselbach, "Congress as a Political System." In Rieselbach (ed.), The Congressional System: Notes and Readings. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, forthcoming, 1970.

To begin with, the public holds certain beliefs about how a lawmaker should act. He must, of course, be honest, perhaps even a "paragon of virtue." Some actions are forbidden by law, but others are in the twilight zone between illegal or immoral and legitimate or ethical. As the recent censure of Senator Thomas Dodd by his Senate colleagues indicates, it is often difficult for a legislator to establish what is acceptable behavior as opposed to what is disagreeable in the eyes of the public. Similarly, the congressman must give lip service at the very least to the popular ideal of the elected representative as just that, a man who represents, does the bidding, of his constituents. This is true even if he intends to vote according to his conscience on every issue which comes before the legislature.[95] If he is unsuccessful in meeting public expectations, the public, in its capacity as the electorate, may compel him to retire.

Similarly, congressmen hold beliefs about what are appropriate norms for legislative behavior. Matthews has spelled out the "folkways" of the Senate; other observers suggest these expectations apply to the House of

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[95] On representation, see Heinz Eulau et al., "The Role of the Representative: Some Empirical Observations on the Theory of Edmund Burke." American Political Science Review 53:742-756, 1959.

Representatives as well.[96] Among other Senatorial norms, Matthews notes the rule of "apprenticeship," by which junior legislators are expected to learn their trade in relative obscurity. The freshman Senator receives the least desirable committee assignments, and is expected to put in more than his share of time in the dull task of presiding over the Senate. He must follow the old adage of being seen but not heard in order "to listen and to learn." He is expected to show proper deference to his seniors in the Senate. Similarly, the new Senator will be taught the rule of legislative work, i.e., that it is appropriate to spend one's time working at the legislative tasks, in committee and elsewhere, out of the public eye. In the language of the Senate, the newcomer must learn to "be a workhorse, not a showhorse." Along these same lines, the congressman is to become a specialist, to develop sufficient expertise on some topic -- usually that dealt with by the committee on which he serves -- that he may be relied on to give sound advice. In return, he will be expected to defer to other experts in those areas in which he does not specialize. There are other norms, but these examples should be sufficient to indicate the kind of chamber-wide expectations which exist in Congress. What is more, those who conform to these folkways obtain rewards; they become members of the informal "inner club" in the Senate, and, in Matthews' view, are more effective legislators in that they seem to get more of the bills in which they are interested passed than do nonconformists.

Individual committees, as well as full chambers, have folkways, and the two sets may pose difficult choices or role conflicts for legislators. For instance, the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives has a set of norms which includes the expectation that committee members will act as the guardian of the Federal Treasury.[97] The Treasury is protected by the Committee cutting as many budget estimates submitted to it as it possibly can. At the same time, however, the full chamber expects that the programs it has authorized will receive funds from the Appropriations Committee. The Committee resolves this dilemma of a desire to cut budgets coupled with the expectation that it will support programs by pursuing a mixed strategy. The Committee most often appropriates less than is requested, but more than the program received in the previous fiscal year. That is, the program gets more money than it had previously, but less than those who run it claim is necessary. Here, then, is a clear-cut case in which the behavior of the Committee's members is influenced by the expectations of the full House and, at the same time, by those of the Committee itself.

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[96] This paragraph is drawn from Donald R. Matthews, U.S. Senators and Their World. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960, Ch. 5. Cf. also William S. White, Citadel. New York: Harper, 1956. For a dissenting view on the importance of norms, see Nelson W. Polsby, Congress and the Presidency. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1964, pp. 32-41.

To complete the picture of the importance of cultural expectations for an understanding of Congressional behavior, we may briefly note some other norms to which a legislator is exposed. He is a member of a political party, and there is the expectation that he will support the party whenever possible. Similarly, he will be expected to back the President, when they are of the same party, whenever he can in the interest of creating a "record" on which both can run at a subsequent election. Finally, the congressman acts in the shadow of the judiciary, especially the Supreme

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[97] See Richard F. Fenno, Jr., "The House Appropriations Committee as a Political System: The Problem of Integration." American Political Science Review 56:310-324, 1962; and The Power of the Purse. Boston: Little, Brown, 1966.

Court, which has the authority to pass on the constitutionality of legislative actions.[98] Even these few examples should suffice to indicate the range of cultural norms, and the extent of inconsistency or conflict among them, which a congressman confronts in his efforts to play his legislative role.

Social Structure. Sociological forces are equally relevant to performance of the role of legislator, and influence behavior in a number of ways. There are, first of all, the formal rules of Congress which define what a lawmaker can do and how he must go about doing it. The rules define what a legislator must overcome to get legislation passed. He, and those who support him, must move a bill through a series of steps from introduction, through the committees, across the floor, probably through a joint House-Senate conference committee, and finally on to the President for his signature. Each step in this process is governed by the rules of the chamber. While this is not the place to discuss these rules,[99] it is important to recognize that the rules do create a social structure (or define the legislative institution) which controls in a formal fashion what the individual legislator can and cannot do.

Social structure in the broader sense is also important in understanding Congressional behavior. Each legislator brings with him to Washington a set of social relationships established prior to the start of his legislative service; he belongs to a political party, a variety of primary and secondary groups, and he has undergone an extensive process of socialization. Like any citizen, he possesses a set of political beliefs stemming in part from his position in society, and it is not reasonable to expect that he will forget or renounce all that he believes when he is elected to Congress and make up his mind anew on all the issues which he faces as a lawmaker. These beliefs will influence what he does in Congress. To take one example, they seem to help determine how he will vote on foreign policy legislation. Legislators of both parties who are Catholics are more inclined than their Protestant colleagues to support foreign aid legislation on the floor of the House of Representatives. Similarly, those who worked in business occupations prior to coming to Congress are more, and those with farm backgrounds less, favorable to foreign aid bills.[100]

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[98] This is an obviously superficial statement of a small sample of the points that could be made to illustrate the expectation patterns within which Congress operates. For more detail, consult any of the major texts on the legislative process. The best of these are William J. Keefe and Morris S. Ogal, The American Legislative Process. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968; and Malcolm E. Jewell and Samuel C. Patterson, The Legislative Process in the United States. New York: Random House, 1966.

[99] On the rules, see Lewis A. Froman, Jr., The Congressional Process. Boston: Little, Brown, 1967.

Finally, social structure has an indirect influence on the behavior of Senators and Representatives through social differences in the districts congressmen represent. There are 435 members of the House of Representatives, and they come from constituencies which differ greatly in social terms; some are urban, some rural; others vary in the degree to which they are rich or poor, northern or southern, well or poorly educated. These differences are reflected in differences in voting behavior. Returning to the example of foreign aid, we find that in recent years, districts populated by the financially better off, urban residents, located in the North, and especially in the Northeast, have elected congressmen who tend to vote most often for foreign aid. And this is true within each of the political parties.[101] In short, whether one talks about social structure in the narrow terms of Congress itself or in the broader perspective of the larger society, it appears that this structure relates to the performance of the legislative role.

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[100] Leroy N. Rieselbach, The Roots of Isolationism. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967, Ch. 3.

Personality. Almost nothing is known about the influence of personality on legislative role-playing, largely because congressmen have not been available for assessment of their personalities. All that can be said is that there is no logical reason why personality may not be related to legislative behavior in ways similar to the fashion in which we have seen that it is related to word and deed among citizens. To cite one case, in 1946 the Legislative Organization Act which Congress passed created a Senate Committee on Government Operations which, in turn, established a Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Little was heard of the subcommittee until, in the wake of the 1950 elections, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy, acceded to the chairmanship. Nothing else changed, the expectations about the subcommittee, its rules, all the objective circumstances were unaltered, yet under McCarthy's leadership the subcommittee became deeply involved in American politics to an unexpected extent. When the Senate censured McCarthy -- largely because he violated the cultural norms, not because of his anti-Communist beliefs -- and his power waned, the subcommittee reverted to the virtual anonymity which had characterized its pre-McCarthy existence, leaving as its legacy a new word -- McCarthyism -- for the American political vocabulary. In sum, the activities of the McCarthy Committee seem to have been the result of the personality of its chairman -- his desires, ambitions, whims, or other attributes -- more than any other factors. If this is true in this instance, it is certainly possible that research might uncover other ways in which personality is related to legislative behavior.

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[101] *Ibid.*, Ch. 5.

Socialization. Much has already been said about the ways in which socialization appears to influence the way congressmen go about their jobs. Here we need only recapitulate briefly. Many of the opinions about government and politics which lawmakers bring with them to legislative service are learned through the socialization process in the same way as similar beliefs are learned by those who never seek elective office. Thus all that was said about socialization in the previous section of this paper is relevant here. Coming to Congress at a relatively advanced age, the freshman legislator must undergo socialization to the norms of his chamber as well. He must learn what others -- his constituents, party, colleagues, and those in the other branches of government — expect him to do. In the Senate, newcomers who ignore the folkways are met with hostility and reduced prospects for acceptance and eventual influence.[102] In brief, legislators have been, and continue to be, exposed to socializing experiences which shape how they will act out their legislative roles.

This discussion of the Congressional role should make clear that there is more to the passage of legislation than a simple recitation of the steps by which "a bill becomes a law" would indicate. Such a listing is limited to the formal, structural aspects of the process. As we have suggested, there are other factors -- culture, personality, and socialization -- which influence the behavior of congressmen. While a bill must be introduced, pass through the committee process, undergo debate and amendment on the floor -- and do so in the House and the Senate -- how individual law-makers respond to their role in this process reflects their characteristics. The formal rules limit to an extent what they can do, but there remains for the legislators substantial room for choice in what they say, what amendments they introduce, how they vote, and so on -- all of which may be shaped by their social backgrounds, their personalities, and the extent to which they accept (or reject) the norms of the chamber. In short, knowing the process by which legislation is enacted tells only part of the story; we need to understand the influences on the ways in which individual congressmen operate within the rules as well before we can speak with confidence about the legislative process.

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[102] Matthews, U.S. Senators and Their World, Ch. 5.

To summarize: formal leadership roles, as the discussion of the role of congressmen illustrates, are complex ones, involving a number of different aspects. The behavioral scientist seeks to discover the causes, or correlates, of the various behaviors which role-occupants perform. On the face of it, it appears that a full understanding of such behavior is unlikely to emerge without consideration of the four classes of factors -- cultural, social, psychological, and socialization -- which the field perspective singles out for attention.[103] Each of these sets of factors suggest foci for investigation of other formal leaders. Research on the President, bureaucrats, judges, state and local officials, among others, will profit from analysis of a sort similar to that suggested in our discussion of congressmen. Considerations of space, not of importance, led to the use of the legislative example to illustrate the field approach; we contend that our understanding of other leadership roles could be enhanced by the use of the field point of view.

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[103] Space limitations preclude a full treatment of Congress and, of course, more than passing mention of other leadership roles. Some books worth examining on other formal roles include, on the Presidency, Richard E. Neustadt, Presidential Power. New York: Wiley, 1960; Clinton Rossiter, The American Presidency. Rev. ed., New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960; and Louis W. Koenig, The Chief Executive. Rev. ed., New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968. On the courts, see Glendon Schubert, Constitutional Politics, Part I. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960; John R. Schmidhauser, "The Justices of the Supreme Court: A Collective Portrait." Midwest Journal of Political Science 3:1-49, 1959; and Stuart S. Nagel, "Political Party Affiliation and Judges' Decisions." American Political Science Review 55:843-850, 1961.

2) Informal Leaders. Precisely the same approach can be applied to a study of informal leaders in American life. It is a truism to say that power and influence are unequally divided in this country. Those who have responsibility for making political decisions -- the formal leaders -- must be given authority to carry out those decisions. But among those without formal positions in government, there is also an unequal dispersion of influence. Some citizens are better able than others to make their voices heard in the places where decisions are made. They are able to speak to, and for, large numbers of people and to assert authority on their behalf. It is these men and women who, without formal positions, can nonetheless influence, directly or indirectly, what those with legal power to act do who are the informal leaders in our society.

Informal leaders differ considerably in the numbers of people they can influence and the number of issues over which they can exert their influence. We may mention, to begin, those who have been designated as "opinion leaders." These individuals, found in all walks of life, are individuals to whom a fairly small number of others turn for guidance and information. The opinion leaders are much more attuned to the mass media than their associates and they pass on what they see and hear to the latter. Thus is established a "two step flow of communication" from media to opinion leader to opinion follower.[104] Examples of opinion leaders would include the local minister or priest to whom parishioners turn for political advice, the shop steward who is influential with fellow-employees in his union, the corporate executive who relays messages to his neighbors in suburbia, or the office worker who passes on his views to others gathered around the water-cooler.

Opinion leaders tend, in sociological terms, to be much like those to whom they transmit their views. They have similar educational, occupational, income, and other attainments to their peers, but are distinguished from them in a psychological sense by their greater interest in and involvement with politics, and seemingly by their willingness to express themselves on political topics. In addition they are the sort who inspire confidence in and thus the acceptance of their sentiments by their followers. And, though there is no data on the point, it seems highly likely that opinions are passed on in a way in keeping with group culture.

Looking at the transmitting rather than the receiving end of the communications process reveals another set of informal leaders, those whom Rosenau has designated "opinion-makers."[105] Opinion-makers are individuals who, because of their positions in important organizations or because of their accomplishments, are called upon to circulate their views via the mass media to large audiences of people unknown to them personally. Thus corporation executives, influential journalists, movie stars, athletes, and other well-known persons often give speeches, write articles, or make endorsements expressing opinions which will be heard, not necessarily because of what is said, but more likely because of who says them. The respect that such individuals command insures a hearing for their views, and the media will pick up these pronouncements and disseminate them widely. Opinion-makers may exert influence on one or many issues of a national or local variety, but within their range of expertise their voices will be heard and perhaps heeded. The influence of opinion-makers may be direct, as when a governmental official takes their views into account in making decisions, or indirect, as when their opinions are accepted by large numbers of citizens who in turn redirect them toward decision-makers.

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[104] On opinion leaders and the two-step flow, see Paul F. Lazarsfeld et al., The People's Choice, 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948; Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence. New York: Free Press, 1955; and Elihu Katz, "The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-to-Date Report on an Hypothesis." Public Opinion Quarterly 21:61-78, 1957.

[105] James N. Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy. New York: Random House, 1961; and National Leadership and Foreign Policy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Rosenau investigated one group of opinion-makers, those convened in the 1958 White House "Conference on Foreign Aspects of U.S. National Security." The Conference was an attempt to use the opinion-makers to mobilize support for the foreign aid program; the leaders were briefed on the program and it was hoped that they would use their access to the communications media to spread the word more widely, thus generating favorable sentiment toward the program. The participants in the conference tended to be professionals (corporate executives, university presidents, officers of voluntary associations, publishers and journalists, members of Congress) of a particular social character. The typical conferee was "a middle-aged, white, Protestant, upper-class male from the Eastern Seaboard, who has had extensive education and who is likely to be a businessman while at the same time holding a variety of unremunerated posts in outside organizations."[106] The conferees did possess access to channels of communications and they were, on the whole, concerned about international affairs and favorably disposed toward the idea of foreign aid. Thus there was brought together in Washington a group that had the potential to act as opinion-makers; that many of them did not do so in this instance does not vitiate the point that there exist people who have the ability to influence the views of a wide range of others via the media of mass communications.

A third area in which there has been investigation of the role of informal leaders is the nature of "community power structure." The central questions here are which citizens of the local community have the power or influence to make their voices heard when local decisions are made, and over what range of decisions are they important. Without attempting to delve into the thorny methodological controversies which continue to rage with respect to the issue of community power, it is clear that two major answers to the question of who governs local communities have been advanced: the "elitist" and the "pluralist." The elitist position, in essence, argues that a small group -- the elite -- has sufficient influence to impose its choices on the much larger, but relatively powerless, mass of the citizens.[107] Members of the elite are drawn disproportionately from the upper classes; they hold prestige jobs, are financially well-off, are better educated, and have the reputation of being important people. These resources, so the elitist view holds, enable them to dominate the local decision-making process across a wide variety of different issues. Where the elite chooses to act, the elite is very likely to prevail.

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[106] Ibid., p. 130.

[107] The classic statement of the elitist view is C. Wright Mills' The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, esp. Ch. 1. See also Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. For a critique of this view, see Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model." American Political Science Review 52:463-469, 1958; and Raymond A. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of 'Community Power'." American Sociological Review 25:636-644, 1960.

On the other hand, while acknowledging that power and other resources are unequally divided in any community, the pluralist denies that any single elite is likely to dominate in all areas of decision-making. Rather there tend to be different groups exercising great influence on different topics. Thus, there are plural or multiple centers of power, no one of which can do much outside its own sphere of competence. For instance, in a study of New Haven, Connecticut, Dahl examined decisions in three areas: education, urban renewal, and political party nominations.[108] He found that there were identifiable groups of leaders in each issue-area, but there was virtually no overlap among these leaders. Only 1.5 percent of those involved were influential in all three areas.[109]

It may be, of course, that both schools of thought are correct; some cities may be elite dominated, others may be ruled by pluralistic centers or authority. And variations in local political culture may account for the differing leadership patterns. That is, in some communities the norms and expectations may be such that only a few citizens assume leadership roles and the remainder defer to them. In other localities, there may be norms, leading to wider participation and a division of labor, which result in a more pluralistic pattern. This sort of speculation, of course, needs to be checked through specific empirical research efforts. Research on the personality factors which may lead individuals to seek influence on the local level is also needed; little or nothing is known about any differences in character between influentials and others with similar social positions who choose to refrain from political activism. Nor is data available on the socialization of community leaders, though if the elite formulation is correct we may assume that as children the budding leaders learned the values of the upper classes and also that these same beliefs were reinforced in adult life through group associations.

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[108] Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.

[109] Ibid., p. 175.

As another example of the sorts of informal leadership which exist in America, and one about which a good deal has been written, we may look at the role of lobbyist or pressure group representative. The interest group is frequently portrayed as the villain on the American political stage, at worst buying and selling legislative votes, at best bullying and browbeating law-makers with threats of electoral sanctions.[110] The call is repeatedly sounded for new legislation regulating the lobbyists in order to protect congressmen from interest group pressure. Recently, however, social science researchers have begun to examine the lobbying process more closely and their efforts have compelled a reexamination of some of the beliefs about the role of the interest group.

To begin with, the lobbyist works under a set of cultural norms which govern his relationship with the legislators, whom he seeks to influence, and the group for whom he works and on whose behalf he seeks to exercise his influence.[111] In the association between the lobbyist and legislator, the upper hand belongs to the latter. The law-maker has the authority to influence governmental decisions and the lobbyist seeks to get him to use that authority in ways which advance the interest group's cause. In order to affect how this authority is used, the group representative must have access to the legislator,[112] that is, he must be able to get the ear of the congressman and persuade him of the merits of his group's position. Since, in reality, he has few if any sanctions to impose on the law-maker, access is crucial, and it is retained only on the suffrance of the legislator. Conduct which is in some way offensive will deny the lobbyist the access he needs so badly.

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[110] On interest (or pressure) groups, see David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process*. New York: Knopf, 1951; Harmon Zeigler, *Interest Groups in American Society*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964; H. R. Mahood (ed.), *Pressure Groups in American Politics*. New York: Scribner's, 1967; and Abraham Holtzman, *Interest Groups and Lobbying*. New York: Macmillan, 1966.

To put it another way, there exists a set of norms and expectations about the lobbyist role (the cultural element in that role) which if ignored will lead to a loss of access and a greatly reduced potential for influence. The lobbyist, when asked, asserts that his chief goal is to build a "trusting relationship" with the member of Congress.[113] The lobbyist seeks to earn the respect of law-makers in a number of ways; he calls on the legislator in person, but only when it is essential to do so; to impose on the representative's valuable time too often is to risk engendering ill-will. These conversations with legislators are felt to be most effective when the lobbyist is pleasant, uses the "soft sell," is well versed on his topic, can present research results which are valuable in their own right, and leaves behind a brief, written statement of his point of view.

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[111] Much of what follows is drawn from Lester W. Milbrath, The Washington Lobbyists. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963; and Raymond A. Bauer et al., American Business and Public Policy, Part IV. New York: Atherton, 1963.

[112] Truman, The Governmental Process, pp. 264-270 discusses the concept of access.

[113] On the points, see Milbrath, The Washington Lobbyists, Ch. 11.

Such contacts are important to the law-maker as well as to the lobbyist. The Senator or Representative will often use an interest group; far from being the unwilling objects of "pressure," the member of Congress often initiates contact with lobbies and recruits their aid for his legislative goals. Given a desperate need for reliable information, the congressman may lean heavily on interest group research and information services. For his part, the lobbyist can earn the legislator's good will, trust, and hopefully his support by providing reliable data; should his efforts prove unreliable he would risk loss of access. In short, the ability to deny access permits the legislator to enforce the norms of his relationships with interest group representatives.

The lobbyist must deal with his employer -- the pressure group and its members -- as well. The latter hold expectations about what the former will accomplish but frequently do not provide him the resources to allow the attainment of their goals. Bauer and his associates discovered that lobbyists seeking to influence foreign trade legislation tended to be understaffed, under-financed, and short of knowledge and time.[114] Moreover, much effort is often expended to convince the employers that a good job is being done; in circumstances of limited resources this effort may well detract from the ability to actually achieve the group's goals. The lobbyist, then, must conform to the normative expectations of both those who hire him and those whom he seeks to influence. These expectations go far to define the role of lobbyist.

Sociological factors are as relevant as cultural ones to any definition of the lobbyist role. Lobbyists, like other men and women, are influenced in their work by the social characteristics they acquire prior to employment by an interest group. Milbrath found that they came in the main from legal, governmental, research, and associational backgrounds.[115] More than half of those he interviewed had not been active in politics; like many other upper-middle class, professional people, the bulk of the lobbyists chose their jobs in order to advance their own careers rather than for ideological or philosophical reasons. Their outlooks, however, surely must be colored to some degree by the positions in the social structure they have occupied in the past and hope to occupy in the future.

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[114] Bauer et al., American Business and Public Policy, Ch. 23.

With respect to personality, lobbyists are only slightly different from other persons of comparable backgrounds who do similar professional work.[116] Interest group representatives tend to have traits of dominance (i.e., the need to influence the course of events, to exert leadership) and self-confidence to a greater degree than other professional men. And they tend to be slightly less sociable -- surprisingly so, since the ability to deal effectively with other people would seem a prime requisite for lobby work -- and less efficient intellectually than comparable others. This is not to say that the lobbyists did not have the sorts of personality which would seem to facilitate their activities -- in fact, on the whole they can be characterized as "honest, agreeable, capable, well-informed, gregarious, manipulative, communicative, and persistent"[117] -- but only that they are quite similar to professionals in other, unrelated occupations. These traits lead lobbyists, like others of comparable training and interests, to seek esteem and recognition; rather than deriving satisfaction from skulking around in the corridors, they achieve pleasure from the knowledge that others accept them as competent professional persons.

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[115] Milbrath, The Washington Lobbyists, Chs. 4-5.

[116] Ibid., pp. 97-108.

[117] Ibid., p. 98.

It seems reasonable to assume that socialization also helps shape the lobbyist role. Lobbyists, no less than the occupants of other roles, carry with them the beliefs, values, and expectations taught to them in childhood. Speculation would suggest that these orientations would be like those of others from upper class backgrounds. Inevitably, there must be some learning which accompanies initiation into the role of group representative, that is, by observation or trial and error, the new lobbyist learns how to deal with legislators, how to earn their respect, and how to keep the lines of communication to law-makers open. In short, the same sorts of factors seem to define the lobbyist role as appear to be relevant for understanding other roles.

Finally, we may look briefly at another group of informal leaders, those who man the key posts in the political party organizations. While some party leaders hold formal positions as mayors or legislators, the great bulk of those who work for the parties -- as opposed to those voters who simply cast their ballots for their party's candidates -- perform informal roles. We refer here to those who serve as precinct or ward leaders or as campaign workers. In short, we consider as party leaders those citizens who are the active, participating party functionaries.

There can be little doubt that these party activists are influenced by a system of cultural norms. Their superiors in the party hierarchy will expect them to "get out the vote" on election day, to support the nominees of the organization, and to perform whatever services the party may ask of them. The cultural patterns will in all likelihood differ from location to location; Mayor Richard Daley's Chicago Democratic "machine" is not the same as the Democratic organizations in Los Angeles or Detroit. But whatever the place, the party operations will be better understood if we examine the expectations under which the party leaders perform their tasks.[118]

Social structure needs to be considered as well. Local election laws will impose some limitations on the activities available to party leaders; some forms of behavior will be required of them, others will be forbidden. The activists' behavior will be conditioned further by the group affiliations they possess. Those involved in party work tend to come from families with a history of political participation and they tend also to possess above average social status. Thus to a great extent party actives have both the motivation, acquired from their primary group memberships, and the educational and financial resources commensurate within high social standing, to function effectively on behalf of the party organization.[119]

This is more true, in Detroit at least, of Republicans than of Democrats.[120] Moreover, among the high status party activists, lawyers are vastly overrepresented by comparison to their proportion within the total population.[121] Party leaders, then, are not necessarily a good cross-section of the American electorate, and their backgrounds may incline them to behave in atypical ways; at the very least, the beliefs which they have learned from the groups to which they belong must be considered in any effort to explain how they do behave.

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[118] On political parties, see among others, V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, 5th ed. New York: Crowell, 1964; Samuel I. Eldersveld, Political Parties. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964; and Frank J. Sorauf, Party Politics in America. Boston: Little, Brown, 1968.

[119] Sorauf, Party Politics in America, pp. 92-96.

[120] Eldersveld, Political Parties, p. 52.

[121] See among the many works on lawyers and politics, Heinz Eulau and John D. Sprague, Lawyers in Politics. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964.

With respect to personal attributes, as with other informal leadership categories, little is known about the personalities of party leaders. A catalogue of motivations for the assertion of leadership is possible, however. Some individuals devote their energies to party leadership to acquire power, the ability to influence the course of events; this can be accomplished among other ways, through the use of patronage, dispensing rewards to entice the recipients to follow the leaders' desires. Others get involved in order to gain material rewards -- money, jobs, contracts, and publicity -- for themselves. Still others obtain psychological rewards from participation; they get prestige, social acceptance, friendship, and other personal satisfactions from commitment to the cause of a party.[122] Beyond these motivating forces, personality may have other effects. For instance, the authoritarian individual, given his feelings about authority, is less likely to find party leadership an attractive avocation. But when he does participate, his behavior is predictable: he emphasizes party discipline and organization and his position in the organization, he participates in fewer non-party groups than does his less authoritarian party colleague, and he tends to minimize the role of ideology in party activity.[123] Thus, while much additional research is required, it seems safe to suggest that personality may well be related to the behavior of party activists.

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[122] See Sorauf, Party Politics in America, pp. 82-90, on these points.

[123] Louise Harred, "Authoritarian Attitudes and Party Activity." Public Opinion Quarterly 25:393-399, 1961.

Finally, socializing experiences would also seem relevant. We have already noted that party leaders tend to be the children of politically involved parents; their socialization, thus, seems to teach them the value of party activity. We can also probably assume that other cultural and group norms incline some individuals to engage in political affairs. And it seems certain that new recruits learn, through observation and experience, the ways in which it is appropriate for party men to act. In sum, as with other informal leadership roles, party activists are influenced by a variety of factors, all of which need to be considered in any thorough analysis of the political parties and their leadership.

This cursory review of the positions of opinion leader, opinion-maker, community influential, group representative, and party leader suggests that we do not know even as much about these informal leadership roles as we have learned about the formal offices of government. In both areas much remains to be discovered, and the behavioral scientist works at exploring the heretofore uncharted aspects of political roles and role behavior. What has been suggested here is merely that the field perspective highlights a number of questions which must be asked if we are to maximize the confidence in the findings which research generates: what cultural norms and expectations influence behavior? How does an individual's position in the social structure shape his behavior? In what ways is personality reflected in behavior? In what ways does the socialization process inculcate the beliefs and values and shape the personality traits which, in turn, find reflection in political behavior? It is the answers to these questions which, from the point of view of the field orientation, should enhance our understanding of the realities of political life.

V. A Concluding Note.

In this essay, the effort has been made to set out briefly the main characteristics of the movement known as the behavioral approach and to suggest why, in their concern with the real world, the behavioralists believe they have something to add to our store of political knowledge. Reduced to the barest minimum, the following general conclusions, each of which we have discussed in the preceding pages, have emerged.

1) The behavioral political scientist, emulating the methods and procedures of natural science to the greatest possible extent, seeks in the long run to develop theories which will permit him to explain and predict political phenomena and in the short run to verify generalizations linking variables to one another, generalizations which may themselves eventually be linked in theories.

2) The field approach, as one possible scheme for thinking about political behavior, emphasizes the potential relevance of four classes of factors -- cultural, social, psychological, and socialization variables -- for an understanding of how and why people behave and act as they do in political matters.

3) These categories of variables are potentially relevant for understanding the roles of citizen, formal leader, informal leader, as well as other forms of political involvement.

We have offered here no definitive treatment of any of these topics; the purpose has been only to illustrate how the behaviorist attacks his research problems and the form that some of his results take. When extended to wider ranges of problems and when carried out still more scientifically, behavioral research may well (and the behavioral scientist believes it surely will) enhance our ability to understand politics and, by extension, to build a better society on the foundation of that understanding.

APPENDIX D

POLITICS AND PARTICIPATION

by Judith Gillespie and Allen Glenn

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POLITICS AND PARTICIPATION

An Alternative Approach to the Study of Politics and Government in Senior High Schools

Judith A. Gillespie

Allen D. Glenn

Occasional Paper No. 4

The High School Curriculum Center in Government
Indiana University
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Preface

The High School Curriculum Center in Government was established jointly in July, 1966, by the Department of Political Science and the School of Education at Indiana University with funds provided by the U.S. Office of Education. Most of the period since 1966 has been used to design, develop, evaluate, and diffuse a two-semester course entitled American Political Behavior. APB has been used experimentally by several thousand students from grades eight to twelve in all regions of the nation and in a wide variety of schools. After three years of field trials, the APB course is finished and will be published by Ginn and Company in January, 1972.

In September, 1970, two members of the High School Curriculum Center in Government began to design a new program for the eleventh and twelfth grades. They sought to design a program that would create an alternative to existing civics courses by employing a comparative systems framework, by affording maximum flexibility for teachers, and by using the school as a laboratory for learning about politics.

The Politics and Participation program is much different today than it was in September, 1970, and is certain to undergo further modifications before student materials are ready for classroom trials in 1971-72. Nevertheless, we believe that curriculum developers have an obligation to report on their work periodically. While many people are primarily interested in the final product, i.e., the student materials, many others are interested in the ideas, the techniques, and approaches that are guiding the development of new materials.

Therefore, we asked Judy Gillespie and Allen Glenn to pause in their development of student materials and to set forth some of the ideas that have guided their work. The paper is not a final, articulated document describing a new program; rather it is a working paper, published in the hope that it will stimulate the thinking of others who share our interest in high school civics instruction.

Shirley H. Engle, Chairman
Howard D. Mehlinger, Director

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POLITICS AND PARTICIPATION

Introduction

A variety of instructional materials have been developed over the last few years to help students study politics. A current survey of the various curriculum projects reveals over forty different projects have produced materials bearing some relationship to political science.[1] Of these, the High School Curriculum Center in Government is one of the few whose major purpose is to develop and test new materials specifically for civics instruction.

At the present time two courses are being developed by the Center's staff. A course entitled American Political Behavior, which will be published by Ginn and Company in January, 1972, focuses on understanding individual and group political behavior. In this course we seek to examine people's political behavior through the techniques of social science.

Politics and Participation, a civics education program for twelfth graders, is also being developed. The civics or government class will serve as the locus for this program and will provide information, stimulation, and opportunities for discussion, exploration, and analysis of various political questions. A range of political systems, including the school, the community, and the nation-state, will be studied. Using a political systems framework and comparative analysis, the course will offer the student a systematic framework for studying various political questions and provide him with experiences which will: (1) teach him the skills necessary to use the analytical framework, (2) use the school as a laboratory for practical experiences, and (3) give him opportunities to participate responsibly in the life of the school.

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[1] Mary Jane Turner, Materials for Civics, Government, and Problems of Democracy: Political Science and the New Social Studies (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, 1971).

This paper is a working paper for the new program. The paper is divided into four major sections. Part I treats the existing civics program. It presents two general problems facing the schools and civic education and what we feel is needed to lessen these problems. Part II presents the analytical framework that guides the course content and explains how the major political concepts of the framework may be used to answer relevant questions. Part III focuses on the basic learning activities of the program. Part IV sets forth a general outline of the course.

Part I -- Answering Political Questions

The decade of the 1960's can be characterized as a period in which many individuals and groups actively and openly demonstrated their concern over public policy. Civil rights, the Vietnam war, and pollution were issues that aroused critical concern in many people. Among those citizens who expressed their discontent and who asked pertinent political questions were the young adults of American society. Students sought answers to the problems of conflict and change that dominated political life. They asked about the future of the political system and, in particular, about their own future. Most important for the system itself, they sought the knowledge and the means to enable them to participate effectively in the decision-making processes that determine the future.

The students of the 1970's are asking similar questions about political life. Much of their questioning and discontent with the larger political system is now, however, directed toward the political system which applies most directly to them -- the school. Students from both the vocal minority and silent majority are asking their schools why courses do not provide needed insights into their political questions and their understanding of the school and larger political system. More important, students are frustrated by their inability to exercise some of their political knowledge and skills in the decision-making processes in the school community.[2]

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[2] Alan Westin and Dean Murphy, "Civic Education in a Crisis Age: An Alternative to Repression and Revolution" (Occasional paper from the Center for Research and Education in American Liberties, Columbia University and Teachers College, September, 1970). Simon Wittes, People and Power: A Study of Crisis in Secondary Schools (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1970).

The significant questions that face the schools during the 1970's therefore are: how can they most effectively cope with students' questions and how can they make the educational experience stimulating and rewarding. There are, of course, no easy answers to these questions. However, if improvements can be made in courses, such as government, that focus on politics, and if there can be an increase in the participatory opportunities for students in the school community, some of the conflicts of the schools may be met.

Political Instruction in the School

An examination of the educational literature and empirical research on traditional courses in civics and government reveals that these courses do not provide the necessary insights into politics which are needed to enable students to deal with their own questions.[3] Traditionally these courses attempt to explain the organization and operation of the political system by focusing on legalistic, historical descriptions of various governmental institutions. The executive, legislative, and judicial branches are investigated in detail and many facts and figures are presented for the student to digest. Institutions are emphasized over process, and government is presented in its most formal sense.

Such courses do not link the various institutions of government in any significant manner, and they do not discuss political change. The political system is presented as a static system, one which is merely photographed and the subsequent picture described. The dynamics of political change are of little interest to most civics authors and if discussed change is presented historically through chapters on "The Struggle for Freedom," "The Founding of a New Nation," and "Our Living Constitution."

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[3] For a general discussion of civics texts, see C. Benjamin Cox and Byron G. Massialas, eds., Social Studies in the United States: A Critical Appraisal (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967).

Comparative techniques to clarify differences and similarities among various political systems are used sparingly. Most comparisons are used to show that the American political system is superior to all others and that Americans have more freedom and equality than other peoples.[4] Even in newer materials such as Schultz's Comparative Political Systems: An Inquiry Approach the author chooses to compare on a one-to-one, process-to-process, or characteristic-to-characteristic basis.[5] She does not extend her analysis to a discussion of relationships or the effects of variation among different system components.

Most civics and government texts also consistently fail to provide students with the necessary skills needed to answer political questions.[6] Students in very few cases are given the opportunity to use and to develop the skills of social science methodology. Some authors suggest that the student use an "inquiry" approach, but this technique is seldom directly explained. Most often the student is expected to generalize from end-of-chapter questions to "higher" levels of thinking. How he is to reach these levels is unclear.

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[4] Byron G. Massialas, "American Government: We Are the Greatest!" in Social Studies in the United States: A Critical Appraisal, ed. by C. Benjamin Cox and Byron G. Massialas (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967), pp. 178-179.

[5] Mindella Schultz, Comparative Political Systems: An Inquiry Approach (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1967).

[6] Massialas, loc. cit.

Students also are not given the opportunity to examine value questions and a range of political actions.[7] Civics and government texts are devoid of controversial topics but full of superficial moralizing.[8] The most common alternatives for political action discussed are voting and letters to congressmen. Very few authors provide any insights into how these actions may or may not affect a given issue or what other alternatives are available and the consequences of choosing the alternatives.[9]

These and other weaknesses characterize most civics and government textbooks. Texts are "dictionaries" of political phenomena but have little explanation for what occurs in politics. They fail to provide the student with significant insights into why the system is the way it is, where it may be going, and what can be done about it. Instead, they rely on the students' recall of factual knowledge on the assumption that, given enough facts, they will understand the political system and be able to make political decisions.

It is no surprise, consequently, to find that empirical research indicates that civics and government courses are irrelevant and nonfunctional for the vast majority of students.[10] It also is no surprise to learn that students are very critical of the civics and government courses that are now required by most schools. Because these courses provide little understanding of the operation of a political system and because students are given little opportunity to gain a better understanding of politics, open frustration and, in some cases, violence are becoming more and more common in the schools.[11] The gap between adults and young adults on the means necessary to effect social change in the American political system continues to widen.[12]

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[7] Mark Krug, "'Safe' Textbooks and Citizenship Education," School Review, 68 (Winter, 1960), 463-480. James Shaver, "Reflective Thinking, Values, and Social Studies Textbooks," School Review, 73 (Autumn, 1965), 163-166.

[8] Ibid.

[9] An example: One source simply notes that, "If particular laws are unjust, or cumbersome, or out of date, he (the good citizen) seeks improvements, for bad laws lead to disrespect for the law in general." George Bruntz and John Bremer, American Government (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1965), pp. 60-61.

How can civics and government courses be changed to provide a more realistic and meaningful picture of politics? There are many ways. However, the following considerations are crucial if political questions are to be answered. First and foremost, courses must seek to provide some basis for explaining the organization, operation, and interactions of a political system. Questions of why the system is the way it is, where it is going, and what the individual can do about it must be examined and some general explanations attempted. Second, in order to develop explanatory generalizations a framework of analysis must be constructed and applied systematically to various political actions, interactions, and relationships. This framework must pertain to a variety of political systems and must focus on common political concepts.

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[10] Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 92-119.

[11] Wittes, op. cit.

[12] A recent Gallup Poll indicated that 44% of the college students sampled felt violence was necessary to bring about change; only 14% of the general public sampled had similar feelings. Louisville Courier-Journal (January 21, 1971).

The Politics and Participation program contains resource materials which include such a framework. This analytical framework is described in detail in Part II of this paper; however, it may be briefly described here. The framework permits the student to: (1) describe the organization and operation of a political system, (2) point out the relationships among various parts, and (3) examine the concepts of change in a dynamic manner.

The framework is applied to the study of the political system as a whole. The whole system is defined as a set of political characteristics and the ways in which these characteristics influence each other. By studying systems as a whole the student will be able to examine the ways in which various political values influence political behavior and in turn the ways in which political behavior influences political values. For example, when the student investigates the effect of the distribution of wealth on the ways that decisions are made in the political system, he will also study the way the distribution affects decision-making.

The use of comparison determines and clarifies differences and allows one to examine alternative models of political organization and relationship. For instance, to evaluate the two-party system in the United States one might conduct an examination of other countries' party organizations. Comparison lends clarity and increases the explanatory power of the analytical framework.

As noted above the framework is contained in a core of resource materials. These materials focus on a discussion of political systems, their major concepts, characteristics, and relationships, and provide the student with information which is specifically related to a particular political concept. The content centers on four common political experiences -- change, maintenance, development, and conflict. Units of study are developed around seven major political concepts -- decision-making, leadership, ideology, participation, communication, influence, and resources. (These concepts are defined and related to the analytical framework in Part II.) Through the study of these units the student will be able to gain insights into questions concerning the organization, operation, and direction of a political system.

Included in these resource materials are exercises which teach the student process and inquiry skills he will need to use the analytical framework. The exercises are guided and critically oriented and permit the student to examine various political questions, formulate hypotheses for investigation, analyze data, discuss findings, and develop generalizations and conclusions about the hypotheses.

These exercises do not lead students to certain "correct" conclusions but rather provide the opportunity for systematic and open investigation of political questions. The exercises are guided because the learning of inquiry skills does not occur by accident or by answering end-of-chapter questions. The student must be conscious of the method and have opportunities to practice and develop these skills.

Course materials with a conceptual framework that are more realistic and explanatory would be a vast improvement over traditional civics and government courses. These features make Politics and Participation unique; however, to end civic education or citizenship education at this point would be shortsighted and would avoid some of the conflicting problems facing the public school.

Three crucial issues are avoided by ending the civics program with just a text. First, a better course in government and politics does not directly deal with students' unhappiness over what they feel is the antidemocratic nature of the school. Participation is studied in the abstract, in the safe confines of the classroom. This hardly lessens the student's frustration over being denied a part in the decision-making processes in the school.

Second, a course limited to only in-class activities does not permit the student to put his new political knowledge to use. The knowledge remains in a "holding pattern" to be used when and if ever needed, hence it loses much of its value.

Third, the student cannot directly apply knowledge and skills that are learned in such a course for the direct benefit of the overall school community. The school faces many problems -- maintaining stability, dealing with conflict situations, and planning for future growth and development. Everyone in it is influenced by the decisions that are made concerning these problems. It seems unfortunate that school authorities and students cannot share responsibly in approaching these important questions. Students from civics and government courses can provide additional insights and skills. In many cases these students will be the oldest in the school community and, for some, voting in presidential elections will be a reality. The school has a duty to call upon them to share in the operation of the school and to provide experiences for these young adults to assist them in becoming citizens in the larger political community.

The Politics and Participation program therefore incorporates into its structure varied learning experiences which permit the practical application of classroom knowledge and skills. These learning experiences are centered around various investigative activities and laboratory experiences.

Within each unit of study there are a series of activities that focus on a particular political concept. These activities are primarily student-oriented in that they allow the student to take a major responsibility for the direction of his investigation. In some cases the class as a whole may be involved in the same general activity. In other cases, individual students or groups of students may be working separately on various problems. For example, during the discussion of participation in a political system, the class may be broken into several groups. Each student group might investigate the concept of participation from a different perspective. One might examine participation on the national level, and study voting laws, voting behavior, and discriminatory voting practices. Another might examine participation in the school -- traditional methods of student participation, unrepresented student groups, or ways in which students might more responsibly participate. A third group might examine participation patterns in other nations and study the different models of participation and compare these to the American system.

Occasionally the various individual study groups will meet as a class. These meetings will provide opportunities for the participants to share knowledge and synthesize information into generalizations about a particular concept of concern. Both students and teacher will evaluate the progress that has been made. At these meetings new information also can be introduced and questions clarified.

At the conclusion of these activities the class once again meets as a whole, discusses the findings, relates them to the political concept in question, and relates the particular concept to the overall political system. Such an experience is synthesizing but also provides a basis from which to move to the discussion of the broader, more abstract model of the political system.

The goal of this varied learning experience is to provide the student with an understanding of abstract political concepts which can be applied to a variety of political experiences. Because abstractions are difficult to fully understand, the various group activities and more concrete laboratory experiences are used to clarify the concept. However, the final goal remains, that the student understand a particular political concept in the abstract and be able to relate this to other concepts and a model of politics. By doing so the student will be able to offer some explanatory generalizations about political questions.

Throughout the course of the year student activities take place in the school. The school in a sense serves as a laboratory in which students use the knowledge and skills that they have learned in the classroom. The school may serve as a political experience laboratory because it can be viewed as a political system. It has the characteristics of a political system. Political activities such as leadership, participation, communication, choices, influence, and conflict are present in schools. Why not study them in the school setting and relate them to the larger political system?

The overall goals of the laboratory experience are: (1) to give students a concrete experience in understanding the concepts and problems of a political system; and (2) to provide opportunities for the student to understand the similarities and differences in problems that exist in the school and in the larger political community. Ideally the student is gaining knowledge and skills in the classroom which help him make decisions in the political community and at the same time has the opportunity to use these skills in the community in which he spends nine months out of every year -- the school. By "trying out" the knowledge and skills learned in the civics program there is a continual interaction between what is learned in the classroom and what is relevant to the life of the student.

Included in these laboratory experiences will be opportunities for students to take responsible action in the decision-making processes of the school. This may mean conducting surveys on students' attitudes toward various school problems, or serving on faculty-student committees to determine school policy. The range of activities will vary and will depend on the openness of the school's administration and faculty to student participation.

Goals of the Politics and Participation Program

The Politics and Participation program attempts to achieve the following educational goals. After experiencing such a program, a student will have:

1. A knowledge of the organization, operation, and interactions of a political system. This knowledge will be more than

facts and figures and will be based on an understanding of an analytical framework. This framework will enable the student to make explanatory generalizations about why a political system is the way it is, where it is going, and what factors influence its direction. This knowledge will be applicable to a variety of political systems.

2. Skills of critical inquiry. These skills will include asking pertinent questions, formalizing generalizations, applying the analytical framework to a political system, and making judgments concerning political questions and alternative political actions.
3. The ability to take the initiative in the investigation of educational questions. From the student-oriented learning experiences the student will learn to take responsibility for much of his own learning. He will become an independent learner who is able to draw on a variety of sources.
4. The ability to use social science data. This ability will include being able to analyze various data tables and to make inferences from these tables. It also will include the ability to analyze various social science investigative techniques such as survey research.
5. Increased political interest, political tolerance, and knowledge of scientific inquiry. By understanding the political system better students will find politics more interesting and feel that it can be understood more clearly. By learning the scientific approach to the solution of problems, students will be able to transfer this approach to the study of other problems.

6. A knowledge of the operation of and problems confronting the school. A student will have more knowledge of the operation of a school and the problems it faces because he will have participated in various administrative activities in the school. This will encourage positive attitudes toward the school.
7. A knowledge of the American political system. Although the course will be comparative in nature, the student will have ample opportunities to gain insight into the American political system. By examining other models, the unique features of this system will be demonstrated.

Summary

The Politics and Participation program seeks to correct two major problems confronting the school. First, it attempts to develop a civics course which enables a student to develop some explanatory generalizations about the operation, organization, and interaction of a political system. This increased explanatory power is accomplished through the application of an analytical framework to the common political experiences of change, maintenance, development, and conflict. These concepts are dealt with in a realistic manner and are clarified by comparative analysis.

Second, the program seeks to allow the student to participate in the school community and for the clarification of abstract political concepts through concrete experience. Various political concepts are examined by the class as a whole, by small study groups, and by individual students. The student applies his creative talents as well as classroom knowledge and skills in using the school as a political experience laboratory. This can open the door for the student to participate responsibly in the school's decision-making processes.

The program intends to make the civics course a relevant and functional experience. It seeks to provide some answers to students' questions about politics and provide the skills and experiences to make political knowledge worthwhile. The program thus will benefit both the individual student and the larger school community.

Part II -- The Analytical Framework

Everyone wants to know something about politics. Students are asking why schools maintain rules which direct what they study and how they behave, or why the national government can force them to fight in a war which they did not begin and in which they do not believe. Members of communities are asking why industry can continue to pollute the air or why the cost of living keeps climbing. All of these individuals want to understand the way that political decisions affect their lives. Many of them also want to do something, to participate in making political decisions that vitally affect them.

One way to begin understanding politics is to explore what is common in every political system, whether that system is the school, the community, or the nation-state. In any of these political systems, individuals share common political experiences. They feel the impact of *political change* because different policies affect whether a son gets a scholarship to go to school or a minority group can vote. They are influenced by the *rules or decisions maintained* in the political system because they act in accordance with laws. They experience the *political development* of the system because increases in bureaucracy make welfare action more complicated or mass communication gives them instantaneous information about political events. They also become frustrated by *political conflict* because their work is threatened by demonstrations or a building in the community is bombed.

The primary purpose of an analytical framework is to encourage the exploration of these common political experiences by organizing and integrating relevant political knowledge. The framework developed here is based on the four common political experiences of change, maintenance, development, and conflict. The analytical structure is built by introducing political concepts which aid in explaining these experiences. The concepts included are political influence, political resources, political ideology, political decision-making, political leadership, political participation, and political communication. Comparative analysis is used in order to develop and relate the concepts that eventually will allow one to make generalizations.

However, the framework cannot end with generalizations about political knowledge. Just as most people want to know something about politics, so does each person put his political knowledge to use. Whether an individual reflects upon and evaluates politics or actually participates in making political decisions, he must necessarily make choices between alternative states of his political world. He decides whether he supports or opposes what is happening based upon his evaluation of how the present political system is acting. He decides when and where to act considering the consequences that his actions will have on the future operation of the system as a whole. Each of these decisions involve comparisons between the status of the political world as it is and some future status. In order to provide guidelines for making these comparisons and choices, the analytical framework must generate alternative models of the future based on various changes in present political conditions. The analytical framework developed here generates these models by using generalizations to develop alternative ways that systems might change and demonstrating the consequences of such changes for the future.

The Basis for the Framework

The four common political experiences of change, maintenance, development, and conflict constitute the basis for the analytical framework. Many other experiences could have been chosen such as democratization or modernization. However, the more general types permit analysis of the characteristics of a larger range of specific experiences. The direction of the framework is determined by how these general types of experiences are defined and the kinds of questions that are asked.

The formation of the definitions is guided by a certain way of looking at a political system. A political system is viewed as a set of activities through which values[13] are allocated. Political systems exhibit certain characteristic values and activities. Characteristic political values include political influence, political resources, and political ideology. Characteristic political activities are decision-making, participation, leadership, and communication. Common political experiences, then, are viewed as a product of the relationship between the values and the activities which comprise the political system. For example, political change can be looked upon as a result of decision-making activities through which political resources are distributed. When political decisions are made which influence the distribution of resources to move from an unequal to a better balanced share of wealth for members of the political system over time, then political change has occurred. State-federal revenue sharing is an example of this type of political change.

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[13] The term "political values" is frequently used in two different ways: (1) a set of beliefs about political goals, i.e., freedom, and (2) a set of desirable resources. Throughout this paper, the term is used with the latter meaning. The definition stems from the work of David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley, 1965), p. 21.

With this way of looking at the political system in mind, the four common political experiences are defined as follows:

1. Political change is defined as a difference in system characteristics and relationships over time. The formation of a third party movement in a two-party system is an example of political change. The change involves an activity characteristic of the political system, political participation, with an increase in that activity over time as the system grew from two-party to three-party participation.
2. Political maintenance is defined as a similarity in system characteristics and relationships over time. The stability of the institutional arrangements of checks-and-balances between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government in the United States over time is an example of political maintenance. Maintenance involves stabilizing a value characteristic of the political system, political influence. The formal political influence relationships between the three branches of government have remained relatively stable since their establishment in the Constitution.
3. Political development is defined as a directed difference in system characteristics and relationships over time. Development is similar to change, yet development includes

only those changes which accumulate in the same direction over an extended period of time. If a two-party system first experiences an extension of the franchise, then a third party movement is born, and then that party begins to take on leadership positions in the government, political development has occurred. In this case, development involves an increase over time in the characteristic activity of political participation. The direction of the increase is toward more inclusive party participation in government.

4. Political conflict is defined as an inequality in the distribution of values within system characteristics over time. A system in which very few official policy-makers hold most of the political power to make decisions and the majority of the population is powerless is an example of political conflict. The conflict involves a value characteristic of the political system, political influence. This particular definition of political conflict moves away from the classification of specific kinds of activities such as riots, demonstrations, or revolutionary movements to a more fundamental attribute of the political system. Conflict is inequality. The inequality may be counterproductive or productive and manifest itself in riots or in innovation.

The rationale for defining the four common political experiences in this way is twofold. First, the experiences are tied directly to the fundamental characteristic values and activities which constitute a political system. Knowledge of the experiences will thus be consistent with the way a political system is viewed as a whole. This point is important, for if conflict, for example, is viewed as a riot or a demonstration without any link to characteristic activities in the system, then it stands as a unique event without a useful analytical interpretation. In order to study how conflict affects the operation of the system as a whole, it must be defined in a way that is comparable to other experiences being studied under any given definition of politics. Second, definition of the experiences encourages the exploration of basic questions about politics by providing a focus for questions and a means of identifying relevant knowledge for answering them.

The basic questions that most people want to explore about a political experience include: (1) What is happening? (2) How many people are involved or how intense is the experience? (3) Why is it happening? and (4) What effect will it have? The definitions of the common experiences aid in exploring these questions. The focus on system characteristics aids in the exploration of what is happening. For example, the question "What is changing?" is often answered by citing a series of unique events such as the rise of student movements, strikes, and demonstrations. Using the definition of political change provided above, the student can see these events as part of a characteristic activity in the political system, political participation. Grouping events in this way permits him to interpret and relate this experience to others in a meaningful way.

An individual, knowing that these experiences constituted change in political participation and recognizing a conflict in beliefs, or political ideology, between students and administrators, labor and management, or government and public opinion, could reason that the changes in participation were brought about by this situation of conflict. This kind of reasoning would lead him to answers to his "why" questions. Determining the extent to which people were involved in the conflict and change would facilitate answers to the question of "how much." Bringing in additional information of the relationship between change and other characteristic values and activities of the system would help to determine the effect of changes in participation on the future operation of the system as a whole. The definitions thus promote the understanding of basic questions in a systematic way. However, how deeply the questions are understood depends largely on the rest of the analytical structure built upon this beginning.

The Structure of the Framework

The four political experiences defined and developed as the basis of the framework have a common focus on system characteristics. These characteristics draw the framework away from unique experiences of any single political system or group of individuals to the more general experiences common to all systems. What general system characteristics can be chosen to serve as a guide in the exploration of questions? The answer depends largely on the initial definition of politics. Politics for our purposes is defined as an activity through which values are allocated. The fundamental characteristics included in the framework are then necessarily divided into two types: political values and political activities relevant to value allocation. The relevant range of political values needs to include deference values such as political power, welfare values such as political resources, and goal-oriented values such as political ideology.[14] The relevant range of political activities needs to include decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication. Other characteristics could surely have been chosen, but these seem to tap the range needed for exploring questions. Each of these characteristics will be defined and elaborated in the following paragraphs. The range of plausible relationships between concepts will then be presented to complete the analytical structure.

What do people value in politics? The President and the Senate conflict over priorities for making foreign policy. Boards of Trustees or school boards and administrators conflict over dress codes and outside speakers for the school community. Students and parents debate with faculty and community leaders over rules and plans for the future. Each group values the ability to make decisions which affect its own and others' everyday living. In short, each group values political influence.

In the same sense, many citizens from the President to the community member value the political resources which determine how decisions will be implemented. The citizen demonstrating for the right to vote, the Congressman arguing for major federal projects in his state, the President seeking information about the state of the economy or the political stability of another nation -- all desire to have the legal, monetary, or informational resources necessary to get things done. Why do all these people want influence and resources? All have an idea or a whole set of ideas about the system; they have goals for the system. In the United States, goals are tied to a more general set of beliefs about democracy, the role of the individual in politics, the role of the government, and the kinds of acceptable behavior related to everyday political activity. These goals or ideas set important limits on actions within the political system. Goals vary from political system to political system, yet in each case in which people value ideas, they are concerned about political ideology. These three political values -- influence, resources, and ideology -- are defined in the framework in the following ways:

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[14] For a complete explanation of deference and welfare values, see Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 55-74.

1. Political influence is defined as the capacity of an individual or group to make decisions that affect others. As a characteristic of a political system, the distribution of the capacity to make decisions is important. This distribution is determined by defining who makes decisions in the system and who is affected by those decisions.[15] Under this topic falls the discussion of important decision-making institutions in the political system, their interrelationships, and especially their relationship to the groups in which decisions will be implemented.
2. Political resources are defined as the legal, material, and informational means individuals or groups use to engage in political activity. As a characteristic of the political system, the kinds and distribution of these means are

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[15] Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Decisions and Non-Decisions: An Analytical Framework," American Political Science Review, 57 (September, 1963), 632-642.

important. The distribution is determined by defining who holds these resources and who receives resources allocated by political decisions. This topic includes the utilization of the vote, the law, monetary funds, and skills by political actors.

3. Political ideology is defined as a set of beliefs about the principles, programs, and actions governing behavior in politics.[16] As a characteristic of the political system, the substance and the range of these beliefs is important. The structure of political ideology is determined by the analysis of the short-run and long-run goal orientation of actors in the political system.

Based on these definitions, the three values can be related. There are a wide range of relationships among them, yet certain things are immediately evident. The degree to which an individual has influence depends a great deal on the political resources at his command. His use of resources is guided by the basic beliefs he holds about the goals of the political system. His beliefs, in turn, guide the types of decisions he will make and who will be affected by them. Investigating these basic relationships in the framework emphasizes the interdependence of all three system characteristics. Changes or modifications of ideology, influence, or resources do not stand alone; changes in one will entail changes in the others.

An illustration of these relationships and the effects of change can be illustrated in the actions of the President. One of the major ideological divisions between political actors in the United States has been over the role of government in the political system. Since the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration, the national government has sought to encourage and implement national programs aiding in the resolution of problems of city conflict and poverty. The President, using the influence of his position, has attempted to marshall resources toward this goal. Now, under the Nixon administration, the President proposes that revenue sharing be incorporated as a government program. The change in ideological emphasis of the President has a great many ramifications for other values. Many resources will be distributed to states and cities. The influence of the national government over these measures will be minimal. Thus, the change in beliefs about goals has had direct effect on the distribution of political resources and the structure of political influence in the national political system.

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[16] Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology (New York: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 14-15.

What are the major activities through which these values are implemented? Implementation depends upon decision-making. For values to be allocated at all, individuals or groups must make choices between alternative solutions to political problems. The ways in which decisions are made will affect who is influenced, the resources distributed to individuals and groups, and the support that is given for any set of beliefs.

Another major kind of activity which influences the ways in which values are allocated is political leadership. Whether a leader uses force, appeals to legal authority, or asserts a charismatic pull on a population has great effect on the kinds of resources he will use and the support he will get from a population for any policy that he attempts to implement. That support is also dependent upon political participation, for implementation depends largely on the grass-root strategies that are available for individuals to demonstrate support or discontent. Finally, the entire leader-follower relationship necessary for political actions depends upon the structure of the communication system available for leaders to assert policies and for followers to voice support or discontent.

These four political activities -- decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication -- are defined in the framework in the following ways:

1. Political decision-making is defined as the process through which choices are made between alternative solutions to problems. As a system characteristic, the focus of the concept is developed around the rules that are made for making decisions and the outcomes of those decisions.[17] The relevant range of rules which come under discussion would then be a range from unanimity to dictatorship decision rules and outcomes including within and between system interactions.
2. Political leadership is defined as the way in which influence is exercised in a political system.[18] The focus of this concept is on what may be termed as "style" -- whether

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[17] James M. Buchanan and Gorden Tullock, The Calculus of Consent (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967).

[18] James G. March, "The Power of Power," in Varieties of Political Theory, ed. by David Easton (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 39-40.

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a leader used force, personal charisma, or authority to influence others to support his actions.

3. Political participation is defined as alternative ways in which organized political activity is undertaken in the political system.[19] Voting behavior, party activity, interest group organization, and political demonstrations are all relevant organized activities for study under this concept. As a system characteristic, participation can be viewed in terms of the kinds of participation open to a population as well as the amount.

4. Political communication is defined as the flow of information in a political system. As a system characteristic, the emphasis in the concept is on the network of formal and informal communication lines between political actors.[20] The topic would include discussion of the ways in which decision-makers gather information through use of staff, meetings, informal gatherings as well as the major communication lines through the media in a political system. In the national system communication would include major meetings and media; in the school system this concept could be exemplified by administration and faculty meetings, newsletters, and the student newspaper.

The relationships between these characteristics take many forms. The rules for making decisions and the outcomes of the process are influenced by the ways in which decision-makers use influence. The ways in which citizens choose to participate in politics are affected by the communication structure through which they can make their efforts felt. The kinds of leadership exercised in the system influence the ways in which citizens support that leadership through participation.

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[19] Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 9-38.

[20] Karl W. Deutsch, The Nerves of Government (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

Each of these relationships is as important for understanding the political system as the concepts themselves. The relationships become important because the concepts are not studied for their own sake but because they are useful for answering questions about politics. Thorough knowledge of various ways in which decisions are made will aid an individual in discriminating similarities and differences between the operation of a school board and a congressional committee, but it will not answer the question of *why* decisions are made in one way rather than another. Furthermore, if decision-making changes, the knowledge of kinds of decision-making will not answer the question of *what effect* the change has on students or the bills passing through the Congress. The answers to these questions can only be determined when the relationship between decision-making and other values and activities of the system is made clear. Unless the individual can determine, for example, how decision-making is influenced by the particular system's goal orientation, or political ideology, he cannot answer why one system adopts majority rule and another supports dictatorship rule. Unless he can determine how decision-making influences the distribution of political resources in the system, he cannot answer what effect choosing one rule rather than another has on the members of the system.

The structure of the analytical framework is therefore built by these seven concepts and their interrelationships. The concepts have been defined, but the relationships posited have been very general. These relationships become more specific when comparative analysis is introduced. Comparison aids in the specification of relationships in two ways. First, the analysis of different political systems promotes the development of a range of values on any characteristic. The analysis of decision-making, for example, is usefully supplemented by moving from the American system under a majority rule to the Communist Chinese system under a party dictatorship rule. Second, comparisons also help specify general relationships among concepts.

Two general types of relationships can be highlighted through an example. Let us suppose for the moment that our study of politics includes only two political systems.[21] The first political system demonstrates a unanimity rule for decision-making and a relatively equal distribution of political resources. The second political system demonstrates a dictatorship rule for decision-making and a relatively unequal distribution of political resources. The range of values on the concepts is great. Yet, there is a general relationship between decision-making and political resources which exists in both systems. It could be concluded that as resources become more equally distributed in the system, decision-makers utilize more of a unanimity rule for choice. The basic relationship between decision-making and resources is thus *negative*.

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[21] The prototype for this example can be found in James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), pp. 63 ff.

On the other hand, suppose our study of politics for these same nations includes the study of political participation. In system one, participation is very high, and in system two participation is very low. It could be concluded that as the unanimity rule for decision-making increases, participation increases. The relationship between decision-making and participation is positive.

The simplicity of the hypothetical illustration is nowhere duplicated in actual political analysis. Nor is political theory developed enough to handle very powerful theoretical generalizations. Yet, through comparison of very different kinds of systems, these relationships can be clarified and the framework for descriptions as well as explanations set. Comparison produces a wide range of analytical categories for analysis, and a look at the similarities and differences between system characteristics aids in understanding the interrelationship of the component parts of any political system.

The potential of the analytical structure can be outlined by returning to the initial political experiences and questions which stimulated it. How is understanding these experiences promoted by the framework? It has been previously stated that an individual asking the question "What has changed?" in the U.S. political system will look at events such as the rise of student movements, strikes, and demonstrations. The analytical framework offers him seven general categories for understanding those experiences. In this case, he will begin to understand the change in terms of a concept of political participation. That is, political participation is the system characteristic which differs from a previous time. It differs because a new kind of political participation has arisen --

organized political movements using extra-legal authority -- and because more people are participating. Using the framework, the student will then begin to understand why participation is changing because he knows that a general relationship exists between participation, decision-making, and resources. The relationship states that participation generally increases when decision-making moves to include more people in the rules for making choices and when inequalities in the distribution of political resources are reduced. Because the relationship between participation and decision-making is positive and the relationship between participation and resources is negative, it could be concluded that the effect of this change in the long run can be determined by continuing decreases in the inequality of resources and continuing increases in the basis for making decisions. In this way, the individual can find general explanations for common political experiences and answers to some of his fundamental questions using the framework.

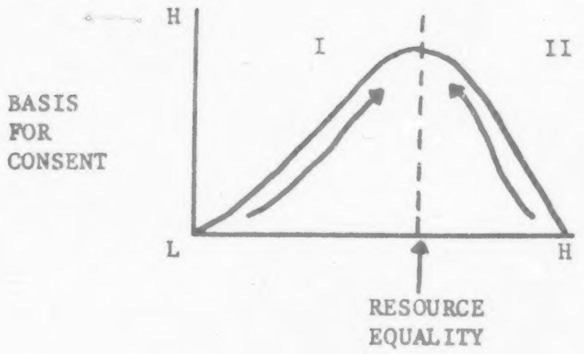
The Utility of the Framework

The primary use of the analytical framework is to encourage a way of thinking about politics which anticipates the future. It can also give the future political actor some guidelines for interpreting the consequences of his actions for the system as a whole. The framework has this potential because it is formulated to generate some alternative models for evaluation and action. The bases for the models are constructed from the generalizations produced through the analytical framework. Through these generalizations models of political change, political maintenance, political development, and political conflict are developed. Each model then focuses on one of the four political experiences and includes some of all of the seven characteristics and their relationships.

The schema for one set of alternative models can be demonstrated easily here. Two alternative models of political change can be constructed from the characteristics of political decision-making, political resources, and their interrelationships. Political change has been defined as a difference in system characteristics and relationships over time. Let us suppose that we are interested in changes in the rules for political decision-making over time. We are trying to determine from generalizations about changes in decision-making the alternative ways that the basis for consent (number of people consulted) on decisions can be increased and what effect the increase will have on the operation of the system as a whole. A student who desired student representation in important curriculum or rule decisions in a school might ask this question as well as a labor union member who wanted his views to be felt by union leaders.

The following generalizations about political change in decision-making could form the basis for generating alternative models of the effects of changes in the basis of consent:

1. The relationship between basis for consent in decision-making and political resources is curvilinear. That is, as the equality in the distribution of resources increases, the basis for consent in decisions increases. However, when resource equality reaches a certain point, then the basis for consent begins to decrease. The relationship is illustrated in the following graph.



2. The relationship between resource equality and participation in the political system is negative. As the equality in the distribution of resources increases, political participation decreases.

From these two generalizations, alternative models of political change can be constructed. The first model is illustrated in the left section of the graph. When resource equality is relatively low, the basis of consent for decisions can be increased by increasing the equality in the distribution of political resources. The effect of this change is a decrease in political participation in the system.

The second model is illustrated in the right section of the graph. When resource equality is relatively high, the basis of consent for decisions can be increased by decreasing the equality in the distribution of political resources. The effect of this change is an increase in political participation in the system.

Thus, the individual desiring to determine how decision-making can be changed first evaluates the position of the system on several characteristics and then determines which actions are necessary for the changes. He evaluates these changes in terms of their effect on participation in the system. The individual analyzing the question of change thus has two very different consequences to consider. In the first model he achieves his goal by sacrificing political participation. In the second model he loses equality in the distribution of political resources. The models offer him a way of evaluating the effects of his decisions to participate in given ways in the political system or alternative ways of thinking about and evaluating the state of the political system.

Again the caveat holds, that political analysis is not as simple as this hypothetical case. The data that will be brought to bear on actual analysis will fall into less clearly distinguished categories. Yet here, again, the framework promotes a way of thinking about politics that, however tentatively developed, gives the student ways of thinking about politics with which he can find reasonable answers to his questions in the present and anticipate the consequences of his actions in the future.

Part III -- Learning Experiences

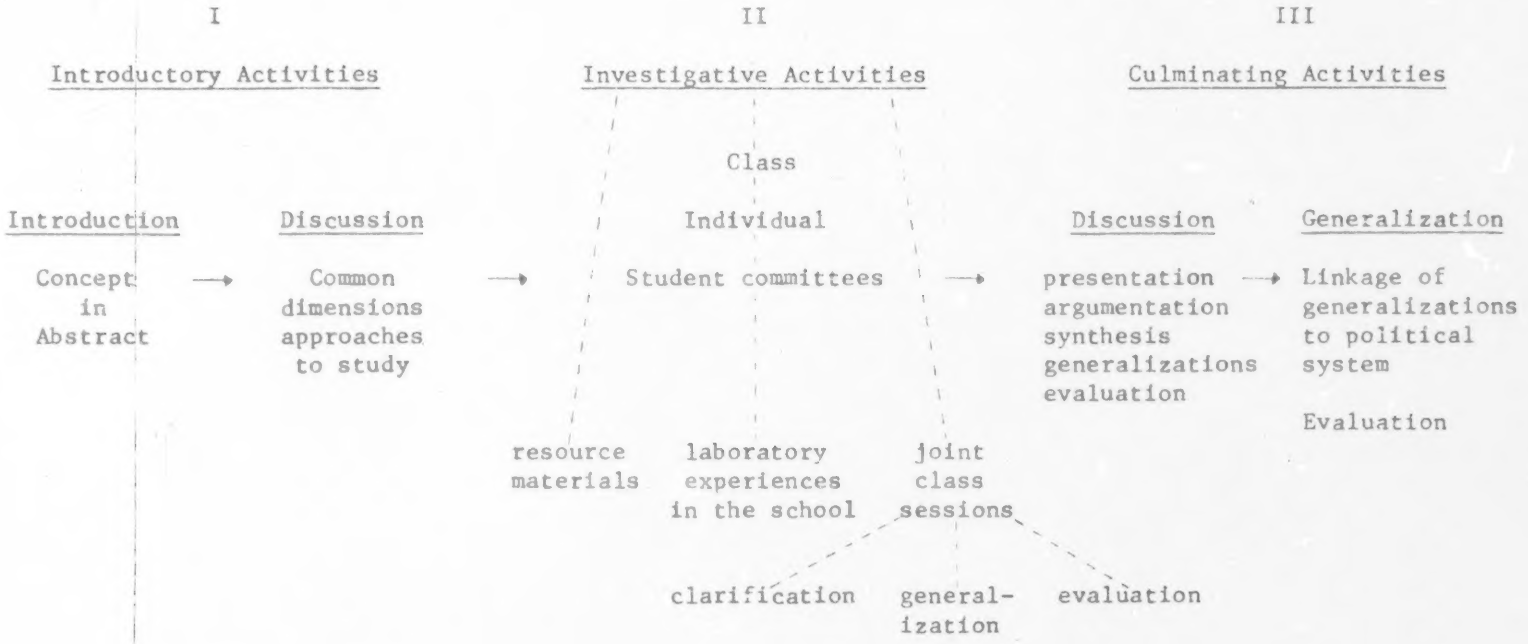
An integral part of the Politics and Participation program is a varied learning program. Throughout the study of the political system the student will be engaged in a number of learning activities and experiences enabling him to apply classroom knowledge. Underlying this varied learning program is the belief that understanding is not attained until the student becomes actively involved in the learning process and realizes that knowledge has real meaning for him. This well-known assumption serves as the pedagogical basis for the course.

The core of the program is a set of resource materials and suggested activities. The materials present the analytical framework and various applications. The content of the materials is broken into several units of study (see Part IV -- Course Outline). Within each of these units the student (1) finds a variety of information and exercises aimed at clarifying the political concepts under investigation; (2) applies classroom knowledge and skills to practical experiences; and (3) learns about and participates in the political life of his school. Many of these activities occur within the classroom, but others require student activity outside the classroom. The school community is the scene for many of these out-of-class experiences.

Each unit of study is divided into three phases. First, students are introduced to an abstract political concept through a gaming situation or some other introductory activity. The purpose of this activity is for the student to discover the various dimensions of the concept. Each dimension is elaborated and common elements identified. The class then moves to the second stage -- the exploration of each dimension. These investigative activities may involve the class as a whole, with each student working individually, or groups of students working together. Throughout the unit students use various resource materials, have practical laboratory experiences in the school, and meet in joint class sessions to clarify various questions, generalize from the information gathered, and evaluate their progress. After a particular concept has been investigated, the students move to the third and final stage. This culminating stage serves as a platform for the final analysis of a particular concept. Students present information they have gathered, discuss it, and make some conclusions concerning this information. The concept not only is linked to particular political questions but also to a more general model of politics.

The overall goals of this varied learning experience are to introduce the student to an abstract political concept, provide him with concrete experiences to solidify his understanding of the abstraction, and help him answer important questions about the political system in which he lives. The program attempts to break the student out of the role of a passive observer in the educational process. The learning activities seek to provide the knowledge, skills, and opportunities for the student to acquire a broader social education, one which is relevant to his present situation and also to the future. The following diagram illustrates this program.

LEARNING ACTIVITIES


I
Introductory Activities
Introduction
Concept in Abstract
Discussion
Common dimensions approaches to study
II
Investigative Activities
Class
Individual
Student committees
resource materials
laboratory experiences in the school
joint class sessions
clarification
general-ization
evaluation
III
Culminating Activities
Discussion
presentation
argumentation
synthesis
generalizations
evaluation
Generalization
Linkage of generalizations to political system
Evaluation

This general learning process can be further illustrated by examining the investigation of the concept of political influence. Political influence may be introduced in the abstract through a gaming situation. The students divide into small groups. Each group plays a game with like rules but different influence relationships. From this initial experience, students then discuss the concept of influence and its dimensions.

Four dimensions of political influence are highlighted: (1) formal influence, indicated by the position of the players in the games; (2) the influence situation presented by the various settings or backgrounds; (3) informal influence, pinpointed by bargaining situations; and (4) factors which affect influence, such as knowledge, wealth, or status.

The topic of formal influence is introduced through generalizations about influence relationships in many political systems. Five different systems, found in the resource material, offer concrete examples of similarities and differences in influence relationships. The generalizations and comparisons are introduced through text materials and outside sources. Students then divide into groups to explore the concept of formal influence. Four groups are created to study the following areas: (1) the organization of the school through charts and interviews with key people; (2) the organization of the most influential members of each of the five political systems contained in the resource materials; (3) the organization of the followers or less influential members of each of the five systems through analysis of additional materials; and (4) the background of those who are influential through biographical analysis from library resources.

When analysis is completed by the individual student groups, the class meets together to talk about formal influence and to draw generalizations from the students' experiences and knowledge. Students then begin the investigation of the other aspects of influence. Throughout these experiences the civics teacher acts as a source of information, a coordinator, a stimulator, and a synthesizer of knowledge.

The final phase of investigation includes discussing the concept, using it in a summary experience, and relating it to previously learned concepts. The intent of the general discussion is to clarify the original definition. The summary experience, a simulation, draws out the relationships between formal and informal influence in various decision-making situations. Following this activity is a "debriefing" period which is devoted to demonstrating how the concept of influence relates to other concepts. The final exercises are the evaluation of these generalizations in light of the total analytical framework and the use of the framework to answer relevant questions. In this way the student explores a single concept, relates it to others, and draws generalizations which build cumulatively into a more general analytical framework -- all for the purpose of answering common political questions.

The above illustration indicates a fundamental change in the teacher's role. The varied activities which form the core of each unit will promote student interaction through which students learn from the experiences of other students. Students will be given considerable freedom to choose which activities they undertake and responsibility for communicating or teaching what they learn from those activities to others. The teacher therefore will no longer be the dominant feature in the learning process. He will be a catalyst in a student-centered learning experience.

Another important part of the learning experience is a set of activities which occurs in the larger school community. Throughout the course of the year various investigative activities will take place outside the classroom and in the larger school community. The school will serve as a political-experience laboratory for the civics program. Seldom has the school been used to assist the student to gain practical experiences for understanding classroom knowledge. Most courses choose to keep to a minimum student movement outside of the classroom. Activities such as oral reports, posters, bulletin boards, debates, and invited speakers dominate lists of suggested activities. If laboratory experiences are suggested, most suggest activities out of the school -- learning experiences in the community and civic education through civic action.

Two obstacles stand in the way of wide acceptance of community programs. First, the organization of the school makes sending large numbers of students into the community most difficult. Most senior high schools are organized in 50- to 60-minute class periods. Students are in civics classes for only one period and are expected to reach their next class on time. It is quite difficult to arrange for large numbers of students to leave school for any length of time, unless teachers use time periods after the school day. However, most teachers are reluctant to use this time because of extracurricular activities.

Second, such a program requires a tremendous amount of coordination, cooperation, and concern from the school and community. In order to make these community experiences in politics worthwhile, school officials, local politicians, and civic leaders must be willing to give time and energy. The teaching responsibility is broadened to include many other individuals. Problems in developing, coordinating, and sustaining such interest are monumental, and a large portion of this burden falls on the shoulders of the civics teacher who lacks the information and time to solve such problems.

It is not the intent of the above remarks to suggest that these activities are not worthwhile or of high educational value, for indeed they are. However, developing a community action or laboratory experience for civics students is difficult and time consuming, and few schools are willing to invest the effort. As a consequence, the vast majority of students do not gain any practical experience in using their political knowledge and skills. More important, a community laboratory experience does little to change what students feel is the anti-democratic nature of the school itself. After being sent into the community to learn about politics, students must return to a situation in which they have few participatory rights.

The Politics and Participation program seeks to avoid these problems and to provide opportunities for the student to responsibly participate in the school community and to gain practical knowledge about political concepts learned in the classroom. The school-laboratory activities of the program are designed to send a small group of students "out" into the school to investigate various questions. Most of the time needed for these activities will come from the civics class, and relatively few occasions will arise in which all the students in a particular class will be out of class investigating a particular problem.

The activities involved are quite varied. In the earlier example on studying political influence, one group of students used the school setting for information. Their activities included getting organizational material about the school and interviewing selected school authorities. Neither of these activities would necessarily involve much out-of-class time; however, the school serves as a setting in which such information can be gathered. At other times students might conduct attitudinal surveys, observe meetings, present programs, and serve as assistants to various leaders and on various committees.

From these laboratory experiences opportunities will arise that will permit students to participate in the decision-making process of the school. The number of opportunities and their scope, of course, depend on the willingness and openness of the school's administration and faculty. Responsible participation can take many forms. A newspaper column on the various problems facing the school or society might be one. Such a column could incorporate data gathered by students, knowledge about conflict and change learned in the classroom, and a variety of other sources. Responsible participation also might be student representation on various school committees. The power and scope of these committees could vary. Students also might work with other groups of students whose feelings and attitudes are not represented in the school.

Providing opportunities for students to use classroom knowledge and to participate in the school fosters important advantages for the individual student and the school itself. The gap between what is taught about politics in the classroom and political life in the school can be narrowed. Students will be able to see practical applications for their knowledge and ways to participate responsibly in the school. As a result of the increased understanding of the common problems and conflicts that face the school community, faculty and students may find tensions lessening. The school can use the students' knowledge and skills in a more effective manner and also take advantage of the twelfth-graders' leadership abilities. Opportunities also will arise in which many faculty members can become involved in the citizenship education of the students. Communications, speech, science, math, and typing teachers could all effectively participate in such a program. The boundaries of participation by faculty and students will be determined by the openness and willingness of the school's administrative staff.

Obviously, to use the Politics and Participation program effectively, the school must be willing to make a strong commitment and to be flexible. The "normal" school routine may be slightly disrupted as students become involved in investigative and participatory activities. Administrators may have to set aside additional time to work with students and to share in teaching responsibilities. Occasions will have to be made to permit students to take responsible actions and to assist in solving school problems. Tensions will require patience, understanding, and flexibility -- and tensions will undoubtedly arise.

This program offers to the school and the civics teacher the opportunity to teach the information and skills necessary for students to answer political questions. It also encourages the bold step of increased student participation in the school. It is a program designed to help the student and school answer the questions and face the problems that will arise in the 1970's.

Part IV -- Course Outline

The following course outline represents a summary of some of the ways that the analytical framework, the learning experiences, and the school laboratory experience are integrated. The course is designed for two semesters but a semester may be used alone, without using the other. The first semester focuses on the formation of generalizations from basic political concepts and relationships. It provides information about the basic values and activities of a political system. The second semester uses the generalizations in the study of experiences common across political systems: political change, political maintenance, political development, and political conflict. The course is comparative, and systems will be chosen for analysis which demonstrate significant differences in fundamental value and activity characteristics.

Semester I

Unit I. Ways of Thinking about Political Questions. The first unit introduces students to the political system. Fundamental questions about politics are introduced, and various ways of thinking about answers are presented, such as description, explanation, prediction, and normative evaluation. The seven basic concepts and their interrelationships are introduced via concrete school experiences. The fundamentals of comparative analysis are demonstrated through comparison of different school environments.

Unit II. Political Values. The second unit develops the three characteristic political values of political resources, political influence, and political ideology. Students learn each concept through the study of various systems presented in the text material.

Concrete learning experiences include discussion, library work, reports, and gaming situations. As a result of studying this unit, students understand each concept and its relation to other concepts. Through the school laboratory experiences, students learn the basic formal and informal organization of the school, the ways in which resources are allocated, and the basic goals under which the system operates.

Unit III. Political Activities. The third unit develops the four characteristic political activities of decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication. As in Unit II, students learn each concept through the study of various systems presented in the text material. Concrete learning experiences include participation in school meetings, student activities, survey work, discussions, library work, and gaming situations. As a result of studying this unit, students understand each concept and its relation to other concepts. Through the school laboratory experiences, students learn about participation in the basic decision-making processes of the school, the various ways of undertaking leadership activities, patterns of participation of administrators, faculty, and students, and the communication networks among these groups.

Unit IV. Generalizations about Political Values and Activities. The fourth unit develops generalizations about the different ways in which values are allocated through activities in the political system. Students learn various ways of forming generalizations from data in Units II and III. They develop data from their school experience and learn techniques of data analysis and scientific inquiry. As a result of studying this unit, students can understand how summary generalizations are made from their study of concepts and relationships. They learn to collect their own data in the school, to formulate hypotheses, and to test and evaluate these hypotheses in relation to their varied school experiences.

Semester II

Unit V. The Utilization of Political Knowledge: Analysis and Evaluation. The fifth unit introduces students to various ways in which generalizations can be put to use in rational ways of thinking about political questions and responsible evaluation of consequences of political action. Students actively debate and discuss the generalizations formed in the first semester from various points of view and learn criteria for determining the validity of generalizations and their applicability to practical situations. As a result of studying this unit, students become aware of different criteria for evaluation of alternative generalizations and are prepared to begin determining alternative models of political change.

Unit VI. Political Change. The sixth unit develops the concept of political change and provides applications of the concept in terms of alternative theories of change through comparison of the different systems under study. Alternative models of political change are illustrated through text materials, and students are encouraged to discuss and develop these models in their practical school experience. As a result of studying this unit, students understand the concept of change and the consequences of various types of change for the operation of the system as a whole.

Unit VII. Political Maintenance. The seventh unit develops the concept of political maintenance and provides applications of the concept in terms of alternative forms of support, control, and competition. Alternative models of political maintenance are introduced through text materials. Students are encouraged to determine the basic sources of support, control, and competition in the school environment. As a result of studying this unit, students understand why various institutions and rules for behavior have continued to exist over time in political systems. They also are able to link the maintenance concept to the concept of change to determine the effects of maintaining certain institutions and rules for behavior and changing others.

Unit VIII. Political Development. The eighth unit introduces students to the concept of political development, alternative models of growth of political systems, the direction and rate of growth. Students are presented with alternative models of political development through text materials. They are given alternative theories of how systems develop and change through comparison of various political systems. They are encouraged to trace the development of their school system and to form generalizations about past, present, and plausible future development in the schools. As a result of studying this unit, students are able to understand the various patterns of political development and to identify those patterns in terms of their school experience.

Unit IX. Political Conflict. The ninth unit introduces students to the concept of political conflict. They look at alternative models of conflict through revolution or demonstration and examine basic inequalities in the system. Students study the intensity of conflict situations and alternative means of conflict resolution. By comparing various political systems, students discover the range of conflict in a wide variety of situations.

As a result of studying this unit, students learn the concept of conflict, its application in the environment of the school, and the relationship of conflict to change, maintenance, and development in the political system.

APPENDIX E

1. Political Knowledge Test
2. Political Science Skills Test
3. Political Attitude Scales
4. Personal Data Form

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE TEST

This is a test of your knowledge of American political affairs. After reading each statement, mark your answer on the answer sheet which you have been given. Be sure to use a number 2 lead pencil. Do not use ball point pen or fountain pen.

Respond to each statement in this test with the following key:

A = True
B = False
C = Don't Know

The test is scored as follows:

Correct answer = +1 point
Wrong answer = -1 point
A "Don't Know" answer = 0 points

As you can see, incorrect guesses are penalized in this test. One point is taken off your score for a wrong answer, and no points are taken away for a "Don't Know" answer. Thus, it is best not to guess wildly. Respond to a statement with a true or false answer only if you believe that your answer is correct. Otherwise respond with a "Don't Know" answer. Avoid wild guessing.

1. In recent Presidential elections, over 80% of eligible voters have voted on election day.

2. Television coverage of news events serves primarily to strengthen whatever opinions people already hold.

3. Most American voters are well-informed about politics and current events.

4. A Protestant is more likely to become a United States congressman than a Catholic.

5. In the United States government power is divided equally among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government.

6. People participate in political activities in order to settle disagreements.

Items 7-10 refer to the following three descriptions of typical Americans.

A. Mr. Jones is a very successful businessman. He is a vice-president of the Graves Chemical Plant. He is a graduate of the Harvard University School of Business. He is President of the local Chamber of Commerce. He owns an expensive home in the nicest part of the city and earns over $50,000 a year.

B. Mr. Green works as a garbage collector. He attended one of the local high schools but did not graduate. He lives in a small apartment with his family. He earns less than $6,000 a year. He belongs to no social organizations.

C. Mr. Jackson is a black man. He owns a neighborhood grocery store and a small home. He earns about $10,000 a year. He is a graduate of one of the local high schools. Mr. Jackson is an active member of a local civil rights organization. He has participated in several civil rights demonstrations.

7. Both Mr. Jackson and Mr. Jones would be more likely than Mr. Green to be against allowing an opponent of churches and religion to give a public speech in his city.

8. Of the three men described above, Mr. Green would be most likely to want to keep books that are written by Communists out of public libraries.

9. The difference in the political behavior of the three men described above results from in-born racial difference.

10. Of the three men described above, Mr. Jackson is most likely to believe he can have a strong influence on the decisions of government officials.

11. Most American voters vote for the man rather than the political party that he represents.

12. Politics involves conflict in which groups and individuals compete for things that they value.

13. Individuals tend to prefer the same political party as their close friends.

14. In the United States Congress, Committee Chairmen are likely to have more influence on decision-making about the making of laws than other congressmen.

Items 15-20 refer to the following four descriptions of typical Americans.

A. Mr. Petrunick is a machine operator in a steel mill. He earns about $9,000 a year. He is an officer of his local labor union organization. He attends the Catholic Church and is a member of the local Moose Club. He is thirty-five year old, and is married with three children. He lives in a modest five room home.

B. Mr. Jordan is twenty-two years old. He has just graduated from college and has taken a job as a junior executive in an insurance corporation in Chicago. He is unmarried and lives in an apartment.

C. Mr. Harvey is a migrant laborer. He works at odd jobs on farms or in small rural towns. Every summer and fall he works as a fruit picker. He travels from town to town looking for work. Often he is without work. He earns about $4,000 a year. He does not belong to a labor union or to any social clubs. He dropped out of school at the end of the eighth grade.

D. Mr. Reynolds is a prosperous banker. He is President of the First National Bank in his city. He earns over $100,000 per year. He is fifty years old and lives with his wife and two teen-age sons in a large, expensive home. He is a leader in several civic and social organizations. He graduated from the Harvard Business School.

15. Mr. Jordan is more likely to vote in an election of government officials than is Mr. Reynolds.

16. It is likely that Mr. Reynolds supports the Democratic party.

17. It is likely that Mr. Petrunick supports neither the Republican nor the Democratic party.

18. Mr. Reynolds is more likely to vote in an election of government officials than is Mr. Petrunick.

19. It is likely that Mr. Jordan supports the Republican party.

20. It is likely that Mr. Harvey supports the Republican party.

21. In any given election year, a younger man (age 35-45) has a better chance to become President of the United States than an older man (over 55 years old).

22. A new congressman is expected to participate frequently and actively in debates in Congress about political issues.

23. All groups of people in the United States are represented equally in the United States Congress.

24. Most Americans decide for whom to vote at the conclusion of an election campaign, after carefully studying all the issues.

25. United States congressmen usually ignore social pressures when making decisions.

26. Identification with a political party is the most important influence on the voting choices of most Americans.

27. Any person born in the United States has the same chance as any other person to become President of the United States someday.

28. A United States congressman is expected to do favors for other congressmen in anticipation of receiving favors in return.

29. A United States congressman is expected to become an expert on only certain topics that come before Congress.

30. In some communities, some important individuals in the community, who do not have positions in government, have as much to say about what the government does as do individuals who are government officials.

31. Parents have little or no influence on whether their children prefer the Republican or the Democratic party.

32. The use of mass media of communication during election campaigns has led to a great increase in the level of political knowledge of most Americans.

33. Individuals who hold jobs as owners of businesses, managers of businesses, lawyers, and medical doctors usually have more influence on the decisions of government than do individuals who are manual workers or clerks.

34. Justices of the United States Supreme Court do not allow themselves to be influenced by public opinion.

35. In this age of the mass media, the candidate who uses television most effectively is bound to win an election.

36. All individuals in our country can have an equal opportunity to influence the decisions of government officials.

37. United States Supreme Court Judges do not let themselves be influenced by politics when they make decisions.

38. According to the law, an individual must believe in God in order to become a Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

39. Black men are likely to vote Democratic in a Presidential election.

40. The United States Supreme Court is expected to enforce the laws of the United States government.

41. Men are more likely to vote in an election of government officials than are women.

42. United States Supreme Court Judges are influenced only by the law when they make decisions about cases.

43. Since 1940, the Republican party has had about the same number of followers as the Democratic party.

44. A Democratic party leader is more likely to oppose government spending to aid needy individuals than a Republican party leader.

45. In the United States, the political beliefs of people who have graduated from college are not likely to be different from the political beliefs of people who did not attend college.

46. The more varied the groups that a congressman represents in his home district, the freer the congressman is to disregard public opinion when he makes public decisions.

47. In some parts of the United States, laws once existed that made it difficult for black people to vote for government officials.

48. A Republican party leader is more likely to favor decreasing government regulation of business than a Democratic party leader.

49. A new congressman is usually more able to be independent in his decisions than a person who has spent many years in Congress.

50. Non-white individuals have the same chance to become United States Senators as white individuals.

51. The Constitution of the United States tells us all there is to know about how a bill becomes a law in the United States government.

52. In the United States, the fifty state governments, rather than the national government have the main duty and power to decide what are the legal qualifications for voting.

53. A Republican party leader is more likely to favor decreasing taxes on large corporations than a Democratic party leader.

54. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to vote in an election of public officials.

55. A Republican party leader is more likely than a Democratic party leader to believe that the key to the social and economic advancement of poor people is self-help and private individual initiative.

ANSWER SHEET FOR
THE POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE TEST

1. False
2. True
3. False
4. True
5. False
6. True
7. False
8. True
9. False
10. False
11. False
12. True
13. True
14. True
15. False
16. False
17. False
18. True
19. True
20. False
21. False
22. False
23. False
24. False
25. False
26. True
27. False
28. True
29. True
30. True
31. False
32. False
33. True
34. False
35. False
36. False
37. False
38. False
39. True
40. False
41. True
42. False
43. False
44. False
45. False
46. True
47. True
48. True
49. False
50. False
51. False
52. True
53. True
54. True
55. True

POLITICAL SCIENCE SKILLS TEST

This is a test of your skill in using information about politics. After reading each statement, mark your answer on the answer sheet which you have been given. Be sure to use a number 2 lead pencil. Do not use ball point pen or fountain pen.

Respond to each statement in this test, on the answer sheet, with the following key:

A = True
B = False
C = Don't Know

This test is scored as follows:

Correct answers = +1 point
Wrong answers = -1 point
A "Don't Know" answer = 0 points

As you can see, incorrect guesses are penalized in this test. One point is taken off your score for a wrong answer, and no points are taken away for a "Don't Know" answer. Thus, it is best not to guess wildly. Respond to a statement with a true or false answer only if you believe that your answer is correct. Otherwise respond with a "Don't Know" answer. Avoid wild guessing.

Items 1-7 refer to Tables 1 and 2 below. Read each of these items carefully. Respond to each statement that can be backed up, or supported, with evidence from Tables 1 or 2 with a "true" answer. Respond to each statement that cannot be backed up, or supported, with evidence from Tables 1 or 2 with a "false" answer.

TABLE 1

Children's Political Interest	Parent's Political Interest	
	High	Low
High	66%	26%
Low	34%	74%
	100%	100%

TABLE 2

Political Party Choice of Children	Political Party Choice of Parents	
	Democrat	Republican
Democrat	72%	16%
Republican	12%	63%
Other	16%	21%
	100%	100%

1. There is little or no relationship between the political interest of the children and their parents.

2. 34 percent of the children have low political interest.

3. 26 percent of the parents with low political interest have children with high political interest.

4. 72 percent of the parents who prefer, or choose, the Democratic party have children who prefer, or choose, the Democratic party.

5. 75 percent of the children prefer, or choose, the Republican party.

6. 16 percent of the parents prefer, or choose, the Republican party.

7. The children who prefer, or choose, the Democratic party tend to have parents who prefer, or choose, the Republican party.

Decide which of the following items (8-12) are statements of fact. Respond with a "true" answer to each of these items that you believe to be factual statements. Respond with a "false" answer to each of these items that you do not believe to be factual statements.

8. Every citizen should vote in public elections.

9. Older individuals (ages 40-45) are more likely to vote in public elections than younger individuals (ages 21-25).

10. The United States of America has the best government in the world.

11. Individuals who can neither read nor write should not be allowed to vote in public elections.

12. Our nation would be improved, if all public demonstrations were made illegal.

Items 13-14 refer to the following descriptions of the activities of Mr. Jones, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Brown.

Mr. Jones, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Brown each want to find out how many of the students in a small eastern college prefer the Republican Party to the Democratic party. Three thousand students attend this college. Neither of the men has time to ask each of the 3,000 students about his or her political party preferences.

Mr. Jones stands in the middle of the college campus and asks the first 1,500 students that he meets to tell him which political party they prefer.

Mr. Smith obtains a list of the names, in alphabetical order, of the 3,000 students. He selects every third name on this list. Then he asks these 1,000 students to tell him which political party they prefer.

Mr. Brown obtains a list of the names of the 3,000 students. He selects 300 names from this list in such a way that every student has the same chance of being selected as every other student. He asks these 300 students to tell him which political party they prefer.

13. Mr. Jones' method of selecting and questioning the students is likely to result in more accurate, or valid, conclusions than the methods of Mr. Smith or Mr. Brown.

14. Mr. Smith's method of selecting and questioning the students is likely to result in more accurate, or valid, conclusions than Mr. Brown's method.

Items 15-17 refer to the following four questions that were constructed for use in interviews with people in your city.

Question A: What is the relationship of a person's political party preference to his occupation?

Question B: Should public school teachers and their students have the right to start each school day by saying a prayer or reading from the Bible in the classroom?

Question C: Do you agree with our Governor that the present mayor of our city is doing a better job than the previous mayor?

Question D: Do you think the present mayor of our city is doing a better job than the previous mayor?

15. It is likely that everyone who is interested in finding an answer to Question A can eventually agree upon one answer.

16. It is likely that everyone who is interested in finding an answer to Question B can eventually agree upon one answer.

17. Question C is likely to produce more accurate, or valid, answers than Question D about the public's evaluation of the mayor.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

18. If you find, through careful study, that most businessmen prefer the Republican party, you are able to conclude, with a high degree of confidence, that being a businessman causes a person to be a Republican.

19. If you find, through careful study, that most labor union members prefer the Democratic party, then you can be certain that most labor union members will vote for the Democratic party candidate in any future election.

Items 20-21 refer to the following description:

Mr. Roberts asked a group of ten men to tell him whether they prefer the Democratic or the Republican party. Five of these men were businessmen and five were manual workers.

Here is a breakdown of the individual responses of these men:

Individual Number	Political Party Preference	Occupation
1	Democrat	manual worker
2	Republican	manual worker
3	Republican	businessman
4	Democrat	manual worker
5	Democrat	businessman
6	Democrat	manual worker
7	Republican	businessman
8	Democrat	businessman
9	Republican	businessman
10	Democrat	manual worker

Mr. Roberts decided to organize these responses in terms of this table below:

Political Party Preference	Occupation	
	Businessman	Manual Worker
Democrat	A	B
Republican	C	D

20. Three of the responses belong in Box C.

21. Four of the responses belong in Box A.

Items 22-23 refer to the following three statements.

A. A sense of political efficacy is a feeling that one does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process.

B. Individuals with much formal education tend to have a higher sense of political efficacy than individuals with little formal education.

C. Richard Gardner has a high sense of political efficacy.

22. Statement A is a fact.

23. Statement B is more useful than statement C in helping one to understand the political behavior of Americans.

Item 24 refers to the following three statements.

Statement I: Lawyers are more likely than plumbers to become political leaders.

Statement II: James Burke is a lawyer and William Fox is a plumber.

Statement III: Therefore, James Burke is more likely than William Fox to become a political leader.

24. Statement III is the only conclusion that can be made from the evidence presented in statements I and II.

Item 25 refers to the following three statements.

Statemant I: Mr. Jones is a Republican

Statement II: Mr. Jones is an outstanding citizen who gives time and effort to many worthy community projects.

Statement III: Therefore, Republicans are more likely than Democrats to be outstanding citizens.

25. If we assume that statements I and II are true, then we can conclude that statement III is true.

ANSWER SHEET FOR THE
POLITICAL SCIENCE SKILLS TEST

1. False
2. False
3. True
4. True
5. False
6. False
7. False
8. False
9. True
10. False
11. False
12. False
13. False
14. False
15. True
16. False
17. False
18. False
19. False
20. True
21. False
22. False
23. True
24. True
25. False

Political Attitude Scales*

The items in the following six political attitude scales are scaled on a likert-type scale with score values as follows:

	Positive Items	Negative Items
Strongly Agree	4 points	0 points
Agree	3 points	1 point
Uncertain	2 points	2 points
Disagree	1 point	3 points
Strongly Disagree	0 points	4 points

A plus sign next to any of the statements in the seven political attitude scales that follow indicates a positive item. A minus sign next to any of the statements in the seven political attitude scales indicates a negative item.

Political Tolerance Scale

+1. If a person wanted to make a speech in this city favoring Communism, he should be allowed to speak.

-2. Books written against churches and religion should be kept out of our public libraries.

+3. If a person wanted to make a speech in this community against churches and religion, he should be allowed to speak.

-4. People should not be allowed to march on public streets in support of better rights and opportunities for Negroes.

-5. People should not be allowed to make speeches against our kind of government.

-6. There should be laws against marriage between persons of different races.

-7. Organizations of minority group youth, such as the Black Panthers or Brown Berets, should not be allowed to exist.

-8. Some racial or religious groups should be prevented from living in certain sections of cities.

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*This document describes the attitude scales that were used. The original scales scrambled the items to avoid encouraging a response set. The scales are produced as follows to facilitate the interpretation of the scales by the reader.

Political Interest Scale

+1. How often do you read newspaper articles about public affairs and politics?

A. Almost Daily
B. Two or three times a week
C. Three of four times a month
D. A few times a year
E. Never

+2. How often do you watch programs about public affairs, politics, and the news on television?

+3. How often do you read about public affairs or politics in magazines?

+4. How often do you talk about politics with members of your family?

+5. How often do you talk about politics with your friends outside of class?

Sense of Political Efficacy Scale

-1. It is no use for my parents to worry about current events or public affairs; people like my parents can't do anything about them anyway.

-2. When you are an adult, you should not worry about current events or public affairs, because people like you can't do anything about them anyway.

-3. People like my parents do not have any say about what the government does.

-4. When you are an adult it will be a waste of time for you to try to influence the decisions of people in the government.

Equalitarianism

+1. The government ought to make sure that everyone has a good standard of living.

+2. Every person should have a good house, even if the government has to build it.

+3. If poor people cannot afford to pay for hospital care, then the government should pay their hospital and doctor bills.

+4. Every person should have the chance to try for a college education, even if the government has to pay for this education.

+5. The government should guarantee a living to those who can't find work.

Political Cynicism Scale

+1. No matter what people are told, a few "big shots" run the government in this country.

+2. People in the government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes.

+3. Most of the people running the government are a little crooked.

+4. Most politicians are looking out for themselves above all else.

+5. I do not think public officials care much what people like my parents think.

+6. When you are an adult, people in the government will not care much about what you think.

-7. You can trust the government to do what is right.

+8. There is practically no connection between what a politician says and what he will do once he gets elected.

Political Trust Scale

+1. It is the duty of the people to obey laws made by their government.

+2. When the President of the United States makes a decision to enforce a law, it is the duty of the people to obey him.

-3. If the Supreme Court makes an unwise decision, it is not necessary to obey it.

+4. Even though a law seems unwise, once it has been passed by Congress, it should be obeyed.

-5. If a person believes that a law made by the government is bad, he should not obey the law.

PERSONAL DATA FORM

We would like some information about you. Please check the correct box or fill in the blank. PLEASE PRINT. Thank you.

1. Student code number ____________________
(assigned by your teacher)

2. Name of school ____

3. Name of the city and state in which your school is located ______________
____

4. Name of your teacher in the course ______________________________

5. Date of your birthday ____ Day ______________ Month ______ Year

6. Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐

7. Race: Black ☐ White ☐ Other ☐

8. Religion: Catholic ☐ Protestant ☐ Jewish ☐
Other ____________________ (Name) None ☐
Prefer not to answer ☐

9. Do you consider yourself a member of a specific ethnic group, such as Polish-American, Mexican-American, Irish-American, Italian-American, etc.?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, which one? ____

10. How would you rate your ability as a student? If you get "A's" and "B's" in most subjects, rate yourself above average. If you get the grade of "C" in most subjects, rate yourself average. If you get the grades of "D" or "F" in most subjects, rate yourself below average.

Above average ☐ Average ☐ Below Average ☐

11. How far did your father go in school?

☐ Completed elementary school
☐ Attended high school
☐ Completed high school
☐ Attended a college but did not graduate
☐ Graduated from college
☐ Don't know

12. How far did your mother go in school?

- ☐ Completed elementary school
- ☐ Attended high school
- ☐ Completed high school
- ☐ Attended a college but did not graduate
- ☐ Graduated from college
- ☐ Don't know

13. What is the occupation of your father? In the space below briefly describe that occupation. For example: "runs a gas station," "is a bank clerk," "works on the assembly line at Ford," "is a professor of biology at Indiana University," "owns and runs a dry-cleaning business." If you don't know the occupation of your father, write "Don't Know" in the space below.

14. What is the occupation of your mother? In the space below briefly describe that occupation. If your mother is a full-time housewife, then report this as her occupation. If you don't know the occupation of your mother, write "Don't Know" in the space below.

15. Which best describes your political party preference?

- ☐ Democrat
- ☐ Republican
- ☐ No political party preference
- ☐ Other (Write in your political party preference if it is other than Republican or Democrat.) ____________________
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

16. Think about the amount of money, education, and the things you and your family have and own. Do you think you and your family are better off, worse off, or about as well off as most people in the United States?

- ☐ I think that my family and I are better off than most people in the U.S.A.
- ☐ I think that my family and I are about as well off as most people in the U.S.A.
- ☐ I think that my family and I are worse off than most people in the U.S.A.

17. What social studies courses have you taken since you have been in the seventh grade?

Grade Level	Social Studies Courses Taken in Each Grade Level. (Write courses taken in the spaces below.)
Seventh	
Eighth	
Ninth	
Tenth	
Eleventh	
Twelfth	

APPENDIX F

PILOT TEACHERS FOR AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

1968-1971

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Pilot Teachers for Course in American Political Behavior

1968-1969

Mr. Robert A. Adinolfi
Saint Philip High School
Chicago, Illinois 60612

Mr. Barry J. Aldinger
Vergennes Union High School
Vergennes, Vermont 05491

Mr. Kermit W. Arnold
Honey Creek High School
Terre Haute, Indiana 47802

Mrs. Patricia J. Basa
Dyer Junior High School
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Mrs. Carol E. Carithers
North Ridge Junior High School
Danville, Illinois 61832

Mr. Leonard G. Carlson
East Chicago Roosevelt High School
East Chicago, Indiana 46312

Mr. Russel L. Carlson
Olympic Junior High School
Seattle, Washington 98148

Mr. Frank J. Ciocci
Peters Twp. Jr.-Sr. High School
McMurray, Pennsylvania 15317

Mr. Theodore H. Clark
Forwood Junior High School
Wilmington, Delaware 19803

Mr. Arthur P. Currier
Jordan Junior High School
Palo Alto, California 94303

Mr. Myron N. Denekas
St. Joseph Junior High School
St. Joseph, Michigan 49085

Mr. Larry W. Dunn
Central Junior High School
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Miss Phyllis M. Eastwood
Central Senior High School
Kansas City, Missouri

Mr. Donald E. Greaney
Parker Br. High School
Chicago, Illinois 60621

Mr. Charles W. Hale
Burch High School
Delbarton, West Virginia 25670

Mr. Ronald Hall
Woodrow Wilson Junior High School
Terre Haute, Indiana 47803

Mr. James E. Harwood
Chelmsford High School
North Chelmsford, Massachusetts

Mr. Norman S. Hirsig
Union High School
Union Grove, Wisconsin 53182

Mr. Warren R. Hurt
Binford Junior High School
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Mr. Carl H. Jens
Central Junior High School
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Mr. Keith F. Killacky
Paul Schmucker Middle School
Mishawaka, Indiana 46544

Mr. Floyd J. Kuzan
Andrew Jackson High School
South Bend, Indiana 46614

Mrs. Ethel P. Lamon
Hernando Central High School
Hernando, Mississippi 38632

Mr. James R. Lewellen
William A. Wirt School
Gary, Indiana 46403

Mr. Leonard K. Lupin
Mt. Pleasant Junior High School
Wilmington, Delaware 19809

Mr. Charles W. McLemore
Paoli Community High School
Paoli, Indiana 47454

Mr. William C. Moores
Wilbur Junior High School
Palo Alto, California 94306

Mr. John H. Morris
Collins High School
Oak Hill, West Virginia 25903

Mrs. Nancy T. Myers
Southwest High School
Kansas City, Missouri 64113

Miss Nora Palleiro
Wm. G. Pierce Junior High School
Tampa, Florida 33614

Mr. Roger L. Patterson
Groveton High School
Alexandria, Virginia 22306

Mr. James T. Riddervold
Hanover High School
Hanover, New Hampshire

Miss DeLura J. Satterfield
Hillcrest High School
Simpsonville, South Carolina

Mr. William E. Shubert
Coleman Junior High School
Tampa, Florida 33609

Mr. James E. Turk
Powell Senior High School
Powell, Wyoming 82435

Mr. John D. Wells
Clifford H. Nowlin Junior H.S.
Independence, Missouri 64052

Miss Rutha M. White
Linear Jr.-Sr. High School
Shreveport, Louisiana

Mrs. Sandra Ruth Whittington
Mayberry Junior High School
Wichita, Kansas 67213

Mr. Naverne Wille
Martinsville High School
Martinsville, Indiana

Mr. Frederick C. Zell
Springer Junior High School
Wilmington, Delaware 19803

Pilot Teachers for Course in American Political Behavior

1969-1970

1. Mr. Barry J. Aldinger
Vergennes Union High School
Monkton Road
Vergennes, Vermont 05491

2. Mr. Kermit W. Arnold
Honey Creek High School
6215 Honey Creek Road
Terre Haute, Indiana 47802

3. Mrs. Patricia J. Basa
Dyer Junior High School
100 West 15th Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

4. Mr. L. Wesley Boots
Southmoreland Junior High School
Scottdale, Pennsylvania 15683

5. Mrs. Frances Brownlee
Barron Senior High School
Barron, Wisconsin 54812

6. Mr. Frank J. Ciocci
Peters Twp. High School
625 East McMurray Road
McMurray, Pennsylvania 15317

7. Miss Diane Cooke
Hayfield High Intermediate School
3760 Telegraph Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22310

8. Mr. Jack Cox
Nowlin Junior High School
2800 South Hardy
Independence, Missouri 64051

9. Mr. Arthur P. Currier
Jordan Junior High School
California & Middlefield Road
Palo Alto, California 94303

10. Mr. William A. Cutlip
Springbrook High School
Valleybrook Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland 20904

11. Mr. Thomas DeBolt
Peabody Demonstration School
Peabody College
Nashville, Tennessee

12. Mr. Myron N. Denekas
Upton Junior High School
Maiden Lane
St. Joseph, Michigan 49085

13. Mr. Richard Dierking
East Park Junior High School
Danville, Illinois 61832

14. Mr. Daniel Dodson
Methuen Junior High School
Pleasant View Street
Methuen, Massachusetts 01844

15. Miss Mary S. Freas
Mt. Pleasant Junior High School
Duncan Road and Philadelphia Pike
Wilmington, Delaware 19809

16. Mrs. Marjorie Gautier
East Ladue Junior High School
9701 Conway Road
Ladue, Missouri 63124

17. Mr. Stephen C. Gladhart
Coleman Junior High School
North Governeour Road
Wichita, Kansas

18. Mr. Claude Gladu
Lincoln High School
Old River Road
Lincoln, Rhode Island 02865

19. Mr. James E. Harwood
Chelmsford Junior High School
North Chelmsford
Massachusetts 01863

20. Mr. Robert A. Hayes
Dartmouth High School
366 Slocum Road
North Dartmouth, Massachusetts 02747

21. Mr. Newell C. Huckaby
Delavan-Darien High School
150 Cummings Street
Delavan, Wisconsin 53115

22. Mr. Warren R. Hurt
Binford Junior High School
600 South Roosevelt
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

23. Mr. Steve Johnson
Churchill High School
Eugene, Oregon 97401

24. Mrs. Carolyn Kincheloe
East Park Junior High School
Colfax Street
Danville, Illinois 61832

25. Mr. Joseph Korten
Highland Park High School
Highland Park, New Jersey 08904

26. Mr. Floyd J. Kuzan
Andrew Jackson High School
5001 South Miami Road
South Bend, Indiana 46544

27. Mr. Clarence Lewis
Hokesmith High School
535 Hill Street, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

28. Mr. Leonard K. Lupin
Mt. Pleasant Junior High School
Duncan Road
Wilmington, Delaware 19809

29. Mr. Charles E. Martin
Mt. Vernon Senior High School
700 Harriet Street
Mt. Vernon, Indiana 47620

30. Mr. Gary Martin
Sheldon High School
2455 Willakenzie Road
Eugene, Oregon 97401

31. Mr. Robert E. Miller
Southmoreland Junior High School
Scottdale, Pennsylvania 15683

32. Mr. William C. Moores
Wilbur Junior High School
480 East Meadow Drive
Palo Alto, California

33. Mr. John H. Morris
Collins High School
Jones Avenue
Oak Hill, West Virginia 25901

34. Mrs. Nancy T. Myers
Southwest High School
6512 Wornall Road
Kansas City, Missouri 64113

35. Mr. Dominic J. Picco
Benjamin Franklin Junior High School
14 Blackhawk Street
Aurora, Illinois 60506

36. Mr. Martin Rabinowitz
Emerson Junior High School
29100 West Chicago
Livonia, Michigan 48175

37. Miss DeLura J. Satterfield
Hillcrest High School
Laurens Road, Box 188
Simpsonville, South Carolina 29681

38. Mr. Tom Slater
Schmucker Middle School
56045 Bittersweet Road
Mishawaka, Indiana 46544

39. Mr. Roger W. Springsted
Hadley Junior High School
1101 Dougherty
Wichita, Kansas 67212

40. Miss Janet Subers
Forwood Junior High School
2000 Westminster Drive
Wilmington, Delaware 19803

41. Mr. Richard D. Temple
Central Junior High School
Alexandria, Minnesota 56308

42. Mr. Jeff Thomas
Northridge Junior High School
Danville, Illinois 47842

43. Mr. James E. Turk
Powell Senior High School
Powell, Wyoming 82435

44. Mrs. Sandra Ruth Whittington
Mayberry Junior High School
207 South Sheridan
Wichita, Kansas 57213

45. Mr. Frederick C. Zell
Springer Junior High School
2220 Shipley Road
Wilmington, Delaware 19803

PILOT TEACHERS FOR COURSE IN AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Academic Year 1970-1971

Mr. Barry J. Aldinger
Vergennes Union High School
Monkton Road
Vergennes, Vermont 05491

Mr. Kermit W. Arnold
Honey Creek High School
6215 Honey Creek Road
Terre Haute, Indiana 47802

Mrs. Patricia Basa
Dyer Junior High School
100 West 15th Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Mr. L. Wesley Boots
Southmoreland Senior High School
Alverton, Pennsylvania 15612

Mrs. Frances Brownlee
Barron Senior High School
Barron, Wisconsin 54812

Mr. Frank J. Ciocci
Peters Township High School
625 East McMurray Road
McMurray, Pennsylvania 15317

Miss Diane Cooke
Hayfield High Intermediate School
3760 Telegraph Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22310

Mr. Jack Cox
Nowlin Junior High School
2800 South Hardy
Independence, Missouri 64051

Mr. Arthur P. Currier
Jordan Junior High School
California & Middlefield Road
Palo Alto, California 94303

Mr. William A. Cutlip
Springbrook High School
Valleybrook Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland 20904

Mr. Thomas DeBolt
Peabody Demonstration School
Peabody College
Nashville, Tennessee 37202

Mr. Myron N. Denekas
Upton Junior High School
800 Maiden Lane
St. Joseph, Michigan 49085

Mr. Richard Dierking
East Park Junior High School
Danville, Illinois 61832

Mr. Daniel Dodson
Methuen Junior High School
Pleasant View Street
Methuen, Massachusetts 01844

Mrs. Marjorie Gautier
East Ladue Junior High School
9701 Conway Road
St. Louis County
Ladue, Missouri 63124

Mr. Stephen C. Gladhart
Coleman Junior High School
North Governeour Road
Wichita, Kansas

Mr. Claude Gladu
Lincoln High School
Old River Road
Lincoln, Rhode Island 02865

Mr. John Gorbet
P. O. Box 788
Bishop High School
Bishop, Texas 78343

Mr. Neal Hafemeister
Consultant in Social Studies
Lincoln Public Schools
720 South 22nd Street
Lincoln, Nebraska 68510

Mr. James E. Harwood
Chelmsford Junior High School
North Chelmsford
Massachusetts 01863

Mr. Robert A. Hayes
Dartmouth High School
366 Slocum Road
North Dartmouth
Massachusetts 02747

Mrs. Ingrid Hix
Southwest High School
6512 Wornall Road
Kansas City, Missouri

Mr. Newell C. Huckaby
Delavan-Darien High School
150 Cummings Street
Delavan, Wisconsin 53115

Mr. Warren Hurt
Binford Junior High School
600 South Roosevelt
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Mr. Steve Johnson
Churchill High School
Eugene, Oregon 97401

Mrs. Carolyn Kincheloe
East Park Junior High School
Colfax Street
Danville, Illinois 61832

Mrs. Marie Kramer
Goodrich Junior High School
4600 Lewis Avenue
Lincoln, Nebraska 68521

Mr. Floyd J. Kuzan
Andrew Jackson High School
5001 South Miami Road
South Bend, Indiana 46544

Mrs. Lola LeBlanc
Social Studies Consultant
P. O. Box 110
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Corpus Christi, Texas 78403

Mr. Clarence Lewis
Hokesmith High School
535 Hill Street, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

Mr. Robert A. Lewis
Curriculum Center
Shawnee Mission Public Schools
7919 West 95th Street
Overland Park, Kansas 66204

Mr. Leonard K. Lupin
Mt. Pleasant Junior High School
Duncan Road
Wilmington, Delaware 19809

Mr. Gary Martin
Sheldon High School
2455 Willakenzie Road
Eugene, Oregon 97401

Mr. Leon A. McPherson, Jr.
Zion-Benton Township High School
23rd Street and Eshcol Avenue
Zion, Illinois 60099

Mr. Robert E. Miller
Southmoreland Junior High School
Scottdale, Pennsylvania 15683

Mr. William C. Moores
Wilbur Junior High School
480 East Meadow Drive
Palo Alto, California 94306

Mr. John H. Morris
Collins High School
Jones Avenue
Oak Hill, West Virginia 25901

Mr. Dominic J. Picco
Benjamin Franklin Junior High School
14 Blackhawk Street
Aurora, Illinois 60506

Mr. William E. Pulliam
Social Science Education
College of Education
University of Delaware
Newark, Delaware 19711

Mr. Martin Rabinowitz
Emerson Junior High School
29100 West Chicago
Livonia, Michigan 48175

Mr. Carl Ragland
Jefferson High School
4700 Alameda
El Paso, Texas 79905

Mr. Irving Sloan
The Junior High School
Mamaroneck Road
Scarsdale, New York 10583

Mr. Roger W. Springsted
Hadley Junior High School
1101 Dougherty
Wichita, Kansas 67212

Miss Janet Subers
Forwood Junior High School
2000 Westminster Drive
Holiday Hills
Wilmington, Delaware 19803

Mrs. Betty Swicord
Herndon High School
Herndon, Virginia 22070

Mr. Richard D. Temple
Central Junior High School
Alexandria, Minnesota 56308

Mr. Jeff Thomas
Northridge Junior High School
Danville, Illinois 47842

Mrs. Sandra Ruth Whittington
Mayberry Junior High School
207 South Sheridan
Wichita, Kansas 57213

Mr. Frederick C. Zell
Springer Junior High School
2220 Shipley Road
Wilmington, Delaware 19803

Mr. Edwin S. Zippe
Social Studies Department
Alexis I. duPont High School
50 Hillside Road
Greenville, Delaware 19807

APPENDIX G

Proposal to Establish the High School Curriculum Center in Government

by Shirley H. Engle and
Byrum E. Carter, Jr.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Project H-223

Appendix A

Project Title: A High School Curriculum Center in Government

Submitted by: Harold G. Shane, Dean
The School of Education
and
Walter H. C. Laves, Chairman
Department of Government

Address: Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Telephone Number: Area Code 812 337-5213

Initiated by: Shirley H. Engle
Professor of Education
and
Byrum E. Carter, Jr.
Professor of Government

Transmitted by: H. B. Wells, President
Indiana University Foundation

Date Transmitted: September 1, 1964
Dates Revised: January 18, 1965; August 11, 1965

1. Abstract

a. Objectives. The aims of the proposed Curriculum Center in Social Studies at Indiana University are the following:
(1) To identify broad topics and problems in political science, to examine these in depth through the use of relevant concepts and analytical tools, and to select and present topics suitable for study in junior and senior high school courses in civics and government;
(2) To develop materials and teaching procedures which would incorporate the most recent findings in political science, psychology, and education;
(3) To teach concepts which relate to the political system at the local, national, and international levels, and which enhance conceptual sophistication in dealing with political ideas to junior and senior high school students;
(4) To familiarize high school students with the process of developing and testing hypotheses pertaining to the political world;
(5) To enable students to handle questions of public policy in ethically and intellectually defensible ways;
(6) To maximize the ability of high school students to understand the conditions under which political decisions are made;
(7) To encourage university scholars in the social sciences to work with high school teachers in the development of a social studies curriculum;
(8) To demonstrate new programs and instructional approaches, and to disseminate the most reliable findings to teachers, administrators, and other school personnel.

b. Procedure. The Center proposes to attain the foregoing objectives by using the following procedures:
(1) Establishing a work team composed of a Center Committee made up of political scientists and professional educators who will direct the investigation and serve as the primary resource persons, a full-time Principal Investigator, who will conduct the investigation, and key scholars from related fields and cooperating high school teachers who will serve as resource persons and consult with the staff on substantive and procedural matters;
(2) Obtaining basic ideas, concepts, and procedures to be developed from political scientists and cooperating scholars in related fields:
(3) Developing appropriate pamphlets, syllabi, case-studies, and books of readings for use in the classroom;
(4) Identifying promising teachers in the cooperating schools, and training them in the use of materials and instructional methods;
(5) Applying the concepts and generalizations relating to the political system in selected schools, and experimenting with teaching methods such as discovery, simulation, and case-study;
(6) Through the use of simulation of political systems and through role-playing to give the student the opportunity to participate in political decisions;

(7) Measuring student growth in knowledge and understanding of the political world, and comparing experimental and control groups by means of pre- and post-tests, self-evaluation, teacher records of daily activities, judgments of trained observers, etc.;
(8) Disseminating the most reliable and interesting findings through regional conferences, professional meetings, demonstration centers, and periodic reports in the professional literature.

2. Problem

A fundamental re-examination and revision of the curriculum in elementary and secondary school science and mathematics is now underway in the United States. The need is equally great for a basic revision of the social studies curriculum.

The emerging curriculum in science and mathematics is organized around a relatively small number of general ideas and processes which afford the structure of these subjects. Teaching is moved away from its preoccupation with the mastery of minutia toward the discovery and comprehension of broad relationship, pattern and process in scientific and mathematical endeavor. Strict subject-matter lines are breeched as children are introduced at a much earlier age than formerly to certain general ideas and approaches useful in the comprehension and further investigation of natural and mathematical phenomena.

Consistent with the approach to curriculum, a method of teaching is employed which enlists students more directly in the process of scientific and quantitative investigation. Students are encouraged to generalize about observed phenomena and to test these generalizations with appropriate tools of analysis and empirical investigation. It is believed that a similar approach to curriculum and method of teaching may be fruitfully applied to the social studies, and more particularly, to the teaching of government.[1, 2]

A start has been made, most notably by a group of researchers working under the aegis of Paul R. Hanna at Stanford University, to identify from the content of the various social sciences the principal generalizations which may lend structure to these subjects.[3] Continuing work of a related nature is proceeding under the aegis of the Soviet Science Education Consortium at Purdue. Further, a model of teaching is beginning

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[1] Jerome S. Bruner, The Process of Education. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962.

[2] Shirley H. Engle, "Decision Making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction," Social Education 24:7 (November, 1960).

[3] Paul R. Hanna and John R. Lee, "Generalizations from the Social Sciences." In John U. Michaelis, editor, Social Studies in Elementary Schools. Thirty-Second Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington, D.C.: The Council, 1962.

to take shape which uses "inquiry" methods appropriate to the examination and validation of certain kinds of statements derived from the social sciences. Recent refinements of this model may be found in the work of Hunt and Metcalf and that of Hullfish and Smith. [4], [5]

The proposed Curriculum Center, which will be in operation over a period of five years, will have a twofold task: (1) To identify, describe, and document important ideas, generalizations, and tools of systematic inquiry in the social sciences, and most particularly in the field of political science; (2) To describe, analyze, put into operation, demonstrate, and evaluate promising methods and styles of teaching courses in civics and government at the junior and senior high school level.

The development of a curriculum center in government and the proposed research in instructional methods stem from the following concerns and observations:

(1) Current research findings in political science and related disciplines have not reached the social studies classroom of the secondary schools. Eleventh and twelfth year required or elective courses in Government or in Problems of Democracy generally contain a great deal of obsolete material and a number of misconceptions of the nature of political science.[6]

(2) Most courses in civics or government have an evangelistic-emotional undertone; their professed goals are summarized in the global notion that these courses will develop, "good, democratic citizens.[7]" In many cases good or responsible citizenship is interpreted to mean tacit compliance with the prevailing social ethic and uncritical acceptance of the _status quo_. Many courses in government are explicitly designed to develop "patriotic" citizens, that is, citizens who exhibit an unquestioned loyalty to traditional institutions. The intent of the foregoing courses which give a high partisan and simple view of the political system runs counter to the expressed goals of the Government of the United States which advocates the effective use of educational and other institutions in developing an enlightened electorate, _i.e._, citizens who can identify crucial social issues and judiciously examine

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[4] Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf, _Teaching High School Social Studies_. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955.

[5] H. Gordon Hullfish and Philip G. Smith, _Reflective Thinking: The Method of Education_. New York: Dodd Mead, 1961.

[6] Evron M. Kirkpatrick and Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, "Political Science," in _High School Social Studies Perspectives_, by E. M. Hunt et al., New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1962, p. 100.

[7] Actually, the Purdue Opinion Panel found a negative relation between courses in civics or government and student behavior and attitude on selected indices of democracy. See, H. H. Remmers, ed., _Anti-Democratic Attitudes in American Schools_, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1963.

them.[8] The content of these courses is also contrary to the objectives of various professional organizations such as the American Political Science Association and the National Council for the Social Studies.

(3) Conceptual frames of reference, and political science investigative tools and techniques have not been used in social studies courses in the high school. For the most part, concepts, and items of information have been presented without any attempt to identify and assess the underlying method of search and verification of hypotheses. It is conceded that fundamental ideas and principles dealing with the perennial problems of mankind, such as those associated with the mastery of nature, socializations, and social control, are very important and they should be included in any curriculum. But this constitutes only part of the educational enterprise. Another equally important aspect of cognitive learning is the process by which ideas are developed, verified, and reconstructed. To leave this problem unexamined is to relegate by default a most important function of education to a minor role. The point here is that a generalization or an assertion which purports to explain complicated behavioral and societal phenomena, unless conjoined with the scheme of investigation, does not automatically ensure understanding and does not, in itself, offer a dependable tool for predictability and control. The student and the teacher must find themselves involved in a systematic and continuous effort to reconstruct their beliefs in the light of unearthed evidence.

(4) Alternative methods of teaching have not been carefully described, analyzed, and tested. Social studies educators have been referring to the "problems method," "discussion method," "lecture method," etc. without ever coming to grips with a defensible concept of method, or of problem. Furthermore, lack of a theoretical framework accounted for many, rather loose statements of objectives, and for the inability of social studies investigators to link objectives of instruction to classroom procedures, teaching strategies, measuring instruments, and learning outcomes.[9]

(5) Attempts at evaluation have used, for the most part, standardized tests which were administered at the beginning and at the end of the experimental period, usually over a period of a few weeks or a semester. Often, the test did not fit the framework and the teaching method under study; hence, most of the controlled "single variable" studies reported in the literature found no significant differences in educational outcomes between the experimental and control groups. Most of the tests used in experimental studies were basically tests of factual recall. It would seem rather paradoxical that many investigators who have operated under a "critical inquiry" orientation have accepted, in the last analysis, achievement of tests measuring recall of arbitrary associations as the determinant of success or failure of

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[8] The President's Commission on National Goals, Goals for Americans, The American Assembly, Columbia University, Prentice-Hall, 1960

[9] Byron G. Massialas, Research Prospects in the Social Studies, Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University, Vol. 38, No. 1, January, 1962, pp. 14-24.

the instructional method under investigation.[10] Also, latent functions of children, transfer of learning, and related considerations have not been generally included in the evaluation of instruction in the social studies. When other means of evaluation were used, such as observations, interviews, questionnaires, anecdotal records, and the like, they were relegated only secondary place.

3. Objectives

In developing materials in the field of political science, and in experimenting with various instructional methods the following objectives will be sought:

(1) To identify broad topics and problems in political science, and to select and present topics suitable for study in junior and senior high school courses in civics and government, to investigate these in depth through the use of relevant concepts and analytical tools. Topics will be treated as case-studies with appropriate documents and secondary sources and will be presented in pamphlet form suitable for teachers and for students. For example, institutional transfer in a new nation and the application of a structural-functional analysis may be studied by using some of the ideas developed by David Apter in *The Gold Coast in Transition*, (Princeton University Press, 1955); likewise, political modernization in Asia and Africa may be studied by simplifying some ideas advanced by well-known social scientists, *e.g.*, Clifford Geertz, ed., *Old Societies and New States*, (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963) or Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow, eds., *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, (Princeton University Press, 1964).

The task of identifying and developing important ideas in government will be the primary responsibility of the political scientists who are members of the team. Members of the Center's staff will assist in translating the ideas and analytical techniques into classroom practice.

(2) To teach concepts relating to the institution of government and to the political system in local, national, and international contexts, and to introduce among students and high school teachers a high level of conceptual sophistication in dealing with such political concepts.

(3) To enhance the ability of the student to see important relationships in the operation of the political system. For example, the relationship between political socialization and certain social agencies, *e.g.*, family, school might be examined in a systematic manner. To this end, secondary material might be adjusted to the reading level of the high school students; the Little, Brown Paperback Series in Comparative Politics might be useful here. (See, for example, Richard Rose, *Politics in England*, 1964).

(4) To familiarize high school students with the process of developing and testing hypotheses pertaining to the political world. This

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[10] *Ibid*.

process will include some of the following intellectual and procedural tasks: theory building, definition, sampling, data collection, generalization, application, inference, etc.

(5) To enable students to handle questions of public policy and social issues in their proper philosophical context. Defensible ways in dealing with normativec (value) issues will be introduced and carefully discussed.

(6) To maximize the ability of high school students to understand the dimensions and the conditions under which political decisions are made. In order to enhance this ability, simulated experiences and role-playing will be introduced.

(7) To encourage university scholars in the social sciences and in education to work with high school teachers in the development of a social studies curriculum. Political scientists will contribute substantive ideas and approaches to be developed. These will be checked against ideas contributed by sociologists, goegraphers, etc. Professional educators and high school teachers will contribute insights into optimum conditions for learning.

(8) To demonstrate new programs and instructional methods, and to disseminate the most reliable findings to teachers, administrators, and other school personnel.

4. Rationale

A review of other projects and curriculum centers in social studies revealed that there is currently no study concentrating on political science at the junior and senior high school level. Furthermore, no study or curriculum project attempts to experiment with such variety of novel instructional methods, *e.g.*, simulation, discovery, etc.[11]

In developing this proposal the following major assumptions are made:

(1) That a defensible curriculum may be structured on the basis of limited concepts, generalizations, and methods of inquiry which deal with the perennial problems of mankind.[12]

(2) That the aforementioned concepts, principles, and techniques can be gleaned from the literature by specialists in the given field. In this respect, the work of Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner (*Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings,* Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964) provides a good beginning in the development of a taxonomy of social science concepts and generalizations and of their respective sources of evidence. The pioneer work of Paul Hanna and his

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[11] Gerald R. Smith, "Project Social Studies -- A Report," *School Life*, July, 1963: "Course Content Development in the Social Sciences." *Science Education News*, April, 1964.

[12] See Articles by Shirley H. Engle and Paul R. Hanna in *Social Education*, April, 1963.

associates at Stanford, and of the California State Department of Education, in the development of social science generalizations for use in elementary and secondary schools has already been mentioned.[13]

(3) That when facts are put into a structured pattern, they are retained longer and they can be better understood. Bruner presents this point when he says: "Perhaps the most basic thing that can be said about human memory, after a century of intensive research, is that unless detail is placed into a structure pattern, it is rapidly forgotten."[14]

(4) That the four instructional procedures described below, provide fruitful means in presenting political science material, but that these approaches need to be investigated further.

5. Procedure

The Curriculum Center in Government will operate under the following general plan:

A Center Committee will be formed composed of members of the Department of Government and of the School of Education who contributed substantially to the conception and preparation of this proposal. These are: Shirley H. Engle (Education), who will be the Director of the Project; Byrum E. Carter (Government); William J. Siffin (Government); and Frederick Smith (Education). The Center Committee will outline the direction that the investigation will take and its members will serve as the primary resource persons for the investigation.

A Principal Investigator will be employed. He will conduct the investigation under the direction of the Center Committee.

Key persons from several departments of the University will be selected to serve as consultants for the project. These will include among others the following: Norman J. G. Pounds (Geography); Sheldon Stryker (Sociology); Charles S. Hyneman, David E. Derge, and Walter H. C. Laves (Government); Philip G. Smith and Stanley E. Ballinger (Education); and Gerald W. Marker (School of Arts and Sciences - Education). These persons will be consulted regularly and appropriately on both matters of substance and matters of procedure.

A Research Associate, Nicholas A. Fattu (Education) will be consulted on all evaluative procedures.

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[13] The following publications have, in part, also tried to identify important ideas in different social science fields: New Viewpoints in the Social Sciences, Roy A. Price, Editor, Twenty-Eighth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, 1958; Citizenship and a Free Society, Franklin Patterson, Editor, Thirtieth Yearbook of the NCSS, 1960; High School Social Studies Perspectives, op. cit.; The Social Studies and the Social Sciences, by Bernard Berelson and others, Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1962.

[14] The Process of Education, op. cit., p. 24.

Participating Schools and Cooperating Teachers will be selected, regularly consulted on practical questions of substance and procedure, and prepared in appropriate ways to participate in the investigation.

The Center will be in operation over a period of five years. The general operations performed during this period may be divided into two main phases as follows:

I. The Exploratory-Developmental Phase (Three Years)

1. As a beginning, a rather extensive survey and evaluation of existing courses in government or civics at the junior and senior high school level will be conducted.

2. A comprehensive survey and analysis of the literature in political science and in related fields will be conducted to identify concepts, topics, and investigative techniques suitable for use in high school.

3. Syllabi, case-study materials, collections of readings, etc., will be prepared in pamphlet form for use by teachers and in the classroom.

4. Instructional methods under investigation will be described and analyzed. Relevant evaluation instruments will be selected, and provisions for observation schedules will be made.

5. A team of cooperating teachers will be carefully selected and trained in the use of materials and instructional methods.

II. The Application Phase (Two Years)

6. The application of and experimentation with the political science concepts and instructional methods will take place in carefully selected schools over a period of three years. Several public schools in Indiana have expressed an interest in participating in such a project, e.g., The Indiana University High School, Bloomington High School, Penn High School (Mishawaka), and high schools in Columbus, Terre Haute, Indianapolis, South Bend, Elkhart, and Evansville. It is expected that at least six schools representing different socio-cultural environments will serve as experimental and demonstration centers. An attempt will be made to match these schools against comparable control schools. The study will involve approximately 24 classes, or about 720 pupils per year, representing a fairly wide range of ability and socio-economic background.

7. Students, in both control and experimental schools will be treated by means of pre- and post-tests. The investigators will use a variety of tests and instruments in ascertaining the effectiveness of differential treatments in the classroom, including (a) standardized tests, e.g., the Cooperative

STEP Social Studies Test (Forms 2A and 2B) of the Educational Testing Service; (b) teacher-made instruments; (c) student self-evaluation; (d) tapes and videotapes; (e) the testimony of trained observers; (f) interviews with students. While the criterion question is knowledge and understanding of concepts and methods of inquiry in the field of political science, the development and fixation of attitudes and values concerning the political system will also be examined. In this connection the services of a social psychologist will be utilized.[15]

8. During the fourth year, the overall effectiveness of the materials and instructional methods will be reviewed. If warranted, changes and revisions will be introduced during the last two years of operation. The political scientists will continue to cooperate with the Project staff in the development and refinement of materials.

9. During the latter phase of the study, the most reliable and applicable results of the work of the Center will be disseminated through: (a) meetings in the demonstration centers, (b) annual conferences of professional organizations, e.g., the meetings of the American Political Science Association, the Indiana and the National Councils for the Social Studies, and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, (c) articles in professional journals and monographs (the School of Education of Indiana University has already published, in its Bulletin series, the results of three social studies projects, and it has reported the findings of Professor Ruth Strickland who has worked with the U. S. Office of Education on Project English).

10. During the last year of Center's existence a final report will be written which will include the following:

    (a) Selected material in political science for use with high school teachers and students;

    (b) Brochures and pamphlets identifying concepts, generalizations, means of investigation, and instructional methods;

    (c) The results of student evaluation. Students will be tested by use of pre- and post-tests and "delay" post-tests. Analysis of variance or co-variance will be used to establish equivalent groups. The "t" and "f" tests will be used to determine significant differences between the groups.

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[15] Some pioneer work on the optimum age hypothesis in political socialization has been done by David Easton and Robert D. Hess. See their, "The Child's Political World," in the Midwest Journal of Political Science, VI, No. 3 (August, 1962), 229-246.

(d) The judgments and observations of the cooperating scholars, educators, teachers, administrators, and students.

A major focus of the proposed Curriculum Center will be a one-year course in government offered at the 11th or 12th grade level, a course presently enrolling nearly a half million high school students in the United States. The course will be organized in a two semester sequence as follows: First Semester: The content will be focused on the description analysis of the political system of the United States, including state and local government as well as the operations of the national government. The course will integrate traditional material dealing with the formal structure of American government, including consideration of the role of law and treatment of the historical development of the political system, with more recent behavioral studies of political socializations, voting, attitude formation, and decision-making processes in formal and informal organizations. Material relating democratic political theory to the study of American political system will be introduced at appropriate points in the course. Second Semester: The focus will be on comparative government and politics along with the consideration of relations between states. The comparative government material will include an examination of other democratic states, the Communist bloc systems, and the newer states which have arisen in the last two decades. Concepts dealing with such matters as political socialization which have been developed in the first semester of the course will be applied on a comparative basis in the second semester. The relationship between domestic political systems and the international postures taken by states of different political types will be examined with care. Comparisons will also be made as to the kinds of methods appropriate for the study of industrialized states, in which substantial data is available, and the newer states in which such hard data is not presently available.

A second major focus will be on the development of coordinate and terminal programs in political science at the junior high level and most particularly in the 9th and 10th grade level where over a half million students are currently enrolled in courses in civics.

Although there is some overlapping in the skills and procedures under consideration, four experimental methods of teaching will be emphasized. The common denominator in all methods under study is the stress on scholarly research and inquiry on the part of the student. The methods of teaching may be briefly stated as follows:

(1) Simulation game. Students represent real or imaginary states, and they participate in political decision-making in contexts replicating real or contrived world crises. On the basis of a list of rules, students make foreign policy decisions, declare war, establish diplomatic relations, bring about economic boycotts and tariff regulations, etc. The main goal is the effective allocation of resources. The simulation has been used in the teaching of undergraduate college courses in government. It is

claimed that participation in simulation gives one a realization of the complexities of the political world and motivates the participant to explore alternatives based on reliable evidence.[16]

(2) *Learning through Discovery*. Given certain limited cues in documents, films, artifacts, etc., the students begin to speculate and to hypothesize about the structure and functions of political institutions. The process of discovery moves from a stage of hunch and intuition to a stage of in-depth analysis and, finally, to the point where knowledge-claims are based on concrete, documentary evidence. The teacher fosters discovery by assuming a non-directive role; his main role is to instigate and moderate discussion after he has introduced the discovery episode or the initial encounter with ideas concerning the political system. It is claimed that the method of discovery has a highly motivating effect on the participants, and it promotes understanding since the data under consideration are related to certain main propositions or theories.[17]

(3) *The Springboard Approach*. The course is taught by the use of springboards which are groups of descriptive, but related facts in documents or texts which are thought provoking or can be made so, and the study of which leads to conceptualization about some problems of importance. The conceptualizations would take the form of insights or hypotheses with which the students would be confronted, in order to explore their logical implications. The hypotheses and their implications would be subjected to further discussion and testing. Each student, working individually or in groups, is given the opportunity to formulate explanatory hypotheses concerning the political system and to confirm or test them by employing reliable criteria.[18]

(4) *The Jurisprudential or Case-Study Approach*. Given certain conditions and social cleavages (conditions of segregation, cultural deprivation, over-population, nuclear armament,

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[16] Harold Guetzkow and others, *Simulation in International Relations: Developments for Research and Teaching*, Englewood Cliffs; Prentice-Hall, 1963.

[17] See, Jerome S. Bruner, "The Act of Discovery," *Harvard Educational Review* 31:21-32, Winter 1961, and B. G. Massialas and Jack Zevin, *Teaching History through Discovery*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Chicago (typed, 12 pp.).

[18] For a more detailed elaboration of this approach see, Hunt and Metcalf *op cit*., and Byron G. Massialas, ed., *The Indiana Experiments in Inquiry: Social Studies*, Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University, March, 1963.

etc.) requiring normative judgments, the student is engaged in the identification of positions on social issues and their underlying assumptions, and in the intellectualization of the consequences of acting upon certain policies. Throughout the discussion, carefully prepared legal cases and briefs are studied and analyzed. Small group work is encouraged, and decisions are made regarding the merit of a given policy. It is claimed that through this approach the student becomes acquainted with current social and political issues, and he begins to exercise intelligent reasoning in proposing alternative solutions.[19]

6. Personnel

a. Director: Shirley H. Engle, Associate Dean for Graduate Development and Professor of Education, Indiana University, and recipient in 1959 of the University's Frederic Bachman Lieber Memorial Award for Distinguished Teaching. Professor Engle is a specialist in social studies curriculum and instruction. Following several years of public school experience as a social studies teacher, he was for seven years head of the Social Studies Department of the University High School, Indiana University, where he conducted research on the use of the 'culture concept" in world history. More recently he has taught graduate courses in social studies education at Indiana University, and he has directed a number of doctoral studies in the use of an "inquiry" approach in developing concepts and generalizations from the social sciences in teaching high school social studies. Publications include:

Co-author forthcoming book to be published by the Wadsworth Publishing Company on "New Challenges in the Social Studies: Implications of Research for Teaching."

Editor and Co-author of New Perspectives in World History, Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, 1964.

"Objectives of the Social Studies," in Current Research in Social Studies, Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University, 40:2, 1-12 (March, 1964).

"Thoughts in Regard to Revision," Social Education, 27:182-184 and 196 (April, 1963).

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[19] Donald W. Oliver, "Educating Citizens for Responsible Individualism, 1960-1980," in Franklin Patterson, ed., Citizenship and a Free Society: Education for the Future, Thirtieth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, 1960.

"Decision Making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction." Social Education 24:301-304, 306 (November, 1960). Reprinted in The Education Digest 26:48-50 (February, 1961).

"Methods of Instruction in Economic Education." In Herman G. Enterline, editor, Educating Youth for Economic Competence. American Business Education Yearbook, published by the Eastern Business Teachers Association and the National Business Teachers Association. Patterson, New Jersey: State Teachers College, 1958.

"The Potential of the Secondary School in Achieving a Desirable Public Opinion." In The Teaching of Contemporary Affairs, pp. 76-85. Twenty-First Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington, D. C.: The Council, 1951.

"Factors in the Teaching of Our Persistent Modern Problems." Social Education 11:167-169 (April, 1947). Reprinted in Improving Human Relations No. 25, pp. 90-93, Bulletin of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington 6, D. C.: The Council, November, 1949.

"Controversial Issues in World History Classes." In Improving the Teaching of World History, pp. 145-152. Twentieth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington, D. C.: The Council, 1949.

b. Principal Investigator: The person occupying this position should have a good background in political science and in education; he should have demonstrated competence in curriculum research, he should have some talent for writing, and he should have had a successful teaching experience in secondary schools. It would be important for this person to have first-hand knowledge of schools in Indiana and adjacent states. We now have in mind six properly qualified persons in the United States, one of whom it would be hoped can be induced to accept this responsibility.

c. Associate Investigators: Byrum E. Carter, Jr. is Professor of Government, Indiana University. He has served as assistant dean and acting associate dean of faculties and as acting chairman of the Department of Government. During World War II he served in the Marine Corps and also as a wage rate analyst for the Seventh Regional War Labor Board. In the summer of 1956 Carter was awarded the Faculty Research Fellowship for his study, "The Political Theory of John Stuart Mill." His qualities as a teacher were recognized by the University in 1957 when he received the Frederic Bachman Lieber Memorial Award for Distinguished Teaching. In 1957 the Princeton University Press published Professor Carter's book, "The Office of the Prime Minister," which was described by Drew Middleton, head of the New York Times London Bureau, as "the best book ever written by an American on the British."

William J. Siffin, whose fields of study span business and public administration, political science and economics, is Associate Professor of Government at Indiana University. Joining the I. U. faculty in 1952, Siffin served in additional capacities as director of the Institute of Training for Public Service, 1952-57; chief academic advisor to the Institute of Public Administration at Thammasat University, Thailand, 1957-59, and consultant to the Thai Institute, 1960. Current assignments at Indiana include co-director of the Carnegie Faculty Seminar on Political and Administrative Development; a fellow of the University's International Development Research Center; and a member of the board of directors, representing Indiana University, of the Inter-University Program on Institution-Building Research (Indiana, Pittsburgh, Syracuse, and Michigan State). Prior to 1952, he held such posts as director of research for the Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1950-52; and administrative office analyst for the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1944-48. His writings have included such books as *The Legislative Council in the American States*; *Comparative Study of Public Administration*, which was first published in 1957 and reissued in 1959; and *Organization and Management.* Soon to be published is *The Thai Bureaucracy: A Case Study in Administrative Development.*

Frederick R. Smith is Associate Professor of Education, Indiana University. He has had a very successful public school experience in Michigan. Since 1960 he has been teaching at Indiana University in the area of secondary school curriculum and social studies education. He has contributed articles to the *Michigan Journal of Secondary Education*, *Phi Delta Kappan*, and the *Journal of Educational Research*. At the present time, he is co-editing a book entitled, *New Challenges in the Social Studies: Implications of Research for Teaching*, to be published by Wadsworth Publishing Company.

d. *Research Associate*: Nicholas A. Fattu, Professor of Education and Director of the Institute of Educational Research at Indiana University. From 1939 to 1943 he was an instructor and research statistician in the educational psychology department at Minnesota. During the war years he worked with the mathematics department at the University of Minnesota in teaching and in constructing the National Armed Services Training Program examinations in the engineering and mathematical sciences. He also aided in constructing the U. S. Armed Forces Institute examinations in statistics. In the latter war years, he was a psychologist with the College Entrance Examination Board at Princeton, N. J., on the National Defense Research Council Project for the Navy. From 1945 to 1947 he was an associate professor of psychology at Michigan State University. He is the author of over one hundred articles in mathematics, psychology and testing publications.

e. Research Assistants: Research Assistants will be recruited from graduate students at Indiana University. They will be persons with backgrounds of successful experience as public school social studies teachers.

f. Cooperating Teachers: Cooperating teachers will be recruited from the faculty of the Indiana University High School and the public schools cooperating with Indiana University's teacher education programs. The most important requirement of the cooperating teachers will be a good background in political science and successful teaching experience. It is expected that many of the cooperating teachers will be invited to participate in the Summer Workshops and Seminars conducted by the faculty of Indiana University. In the past these workshops concentrated on the Non-Western Areas, including Asia, and in such diverse fields as anthropology and human relations. A summer institute for high school students who want to pursue careers as social scientists might also provide the grounds for training and dissemination of relevant information.

g. Consultants: In addition to members of the Department of Government and the School of Education who will make up the project staff, key persons from these and other departments of the University and from other universities as needed will be invited to advise with the staff during each phase of the project. In addition the persons named below will be invited to participate as members of the Policy Committee. Each is a key person in terms of this particular project. With the exception of two, who are presently on leave from Indiana University, each is privy to this proposal and has indicated his interest in participating in the project.

Stanley E. Ballinger is Professor of History and Philosophy in the School of Education at Indiana University. He has served as visiting lecturer at Yale University, 1950; at the University of Southern California, 1952; Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan, in the summer of 1954; and at Tokyo Gakugei University, Japan, 1953-54, as Fulbright lecturer. He was elected President of the Ohio Valley Philosophy of Education Society in 1957. Among his publications are "The Teacher as Culture Mediator," "Cultural Determinism and Educational Meliorism: A Study of Conflict in Ideas in Modern American Society," "Controversial Issues in Education: Some Unfinished Business," and "Recent Developments in History Instruction in the United States." In 1951 he was appointed for two years as Editorial Chairman of the American Education Fellowship.

David R. Derge, Jr., associate professor of government at Indiana University, who joined the faculty in 1956, was awarded the Sigma Delta Chi journalism fraternity "Brown Derby" in 1963. The award goes annually to the most popular professor. Derge received the A. B. degree in 1950 from the University of Missouri and the A. M. in 1951 and Ph.D. in 1955 from Northwestern University. Derge taught two years at the University of Missouri before coming to Indiana University. He is a member of the American Political Science Association, Phi Beta Kappa, Pi Sigma Alpha, Alpha Pi Zeta and Kappa Sigma. At Indiana University Derge is primarily responsible for the beginning courses in government.

Professor Charles S. Hyneman joined the Indiana University faculty in 1956 and was made distinguished service professor in 1961. He was instructor of political science at Syracuse University 1928-30 then returned to Illinois as assistant professor. In 1937 he became professor of government and chairman of the department of government at Louisiana State University and the following year became director of the newly established school of government and public affairs. While at L. S. U. he organized the Louisiana Municipal Association and assisted in installing a merit system for the state civil service. In 1947 Hyneman became professor and chairman of the department of political science at Northwestern University. While at Northwestern he held two appointments as secretary of the Civil Service Board regulating employment in the Chicago Sanitary District, one of the principal local government jurisdictions in the Chicago metropolitan area. Hyneman has served as visiting professor at George Washington University, University of Minnesota, Stanford University and U. C. L. A. He was elected president of the American Political Science Association in September 1960, and in 1963 was appointed to the National Research Council as a representative of the Association. On numerous occasions he has served as consultant to departments and agencies of the federal government. "Bureaucracy in a Democracy," published in 1950; "The Study of Politics," published in 1959; and "The Supreme Court on Trial," published in 1963, are Professor Hyneman's best known publications. He also has had many articles published in political science and legal journals.

Walter H. C. Laves is chairman of Indiana University's Government Department. In February, 1964, Laves was named by the Secretary of State to a three-year term on the U. S. National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Professor Laves was chairman of the commission in 1952-53. In January, 1964, Professor Laves was named chairman of a three-man Committee on International Affairs of the American Association for Higher Education. He participated in the formation of the United Nations at San Francisco in 1945 and in 1946 served on United States delegations to the U. N. Assembly in London, and to the International Labor Organization. In 1956 he was elected vice chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies, and in 1951 became a member of the governing board of the International Social Science Research Institute in Cologne, Germany, attending regularly its annual meetings. He is a member of the American Council on Education's Commission on Education and International Affairs. In September, 1958, Dr. Laves was elected Vice-President of the American Political Science Association, and in April, 1959, was named Chairman of the International Section of the American Society of Public Administration. In August, 1960, Laves was asked by the U. S. State Department to make a study of educational and cultural exchange programs conducted by the United States government. He is co-author of the book, *UNESCO: Purpose, Progress and Prospects*, which won a 1958 Indiana Authors Day citition as outstanding in the field of international affairs, and *Cultural Relations and U. S. Foreign Policy*.

Gerald W. Marker, Coordinator for School Social Studies at Indiana University, received the B.S. degree in 1959 and the M.A. degree in 1960 from Ball State Teachers College. Before coming to Indiana, Marker taught social studies at North Central High School, Indianapolis, 1960-62; and at The University of Chicago Laboratory School, 1962-64. He is a member of the National Council for the Social Studies; Indiana Council for the Social Studies; Phi Delta Kappa; Indiana State Teachers Association; National Education Association; Indiana Schoolmen's Club; and the American Association of University Professors. Marker is editor of NEWS AND NOTES ON THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

Norman J. G. Pounds, an internationally known geographer, has just recently completed his twentieth book. Recent publications by Norman J. G. Pounds include *The Economic Pattern of Germany*, John Murray, London. 1963; *Atlas of Middle Eastern Affairs*, Praeger, 1963; *A Political Geography*, McGraw Hill Book Co., 1963; *The Earth and You*, and Rand McNally & Co., 1962; *Divided Germany and Berlin*, Van Nostrand & Co., 1962. Pounds is perhaps best known around the world as an authority on the Ruhr, center of conflict, industrially and politically, in West Europe for generations. He was chairman of the Indiana University European Studies for several years after he joined the faculty in 1950. He assumed the chairmanship of Indiana University's Geography Department in 1962.

Philip G. Smith after receiving his Ph.D. at Ohio State University in 1962 has taught at Western Reserve University, University of Virginia, University of Tennessee, and Wayne State University. Presently, he is Professor of Educational Philosophy at Indiana University. He has been a consistent contributor of articles to professional and learned publications. He is the author of *Philosophic Mindedness in Educational Administration*, Ohio State University Press, 1956; and is co-author with H. Gordon Hullfish of *Reflective Thinking: The Method of Education*. His third book, *Philosophy of Education*, Harpers, 1965, will be shortly forthcoming. He is now president elect of the Philosophy of Education Society.

Sheldon Stryker, Associate Professor of Sociology at Indiana University is a graduate of the University of Minnesota, receiving the B.A. degree cum laude in 1948, the M.A. degree in 1950, and the Ph.D. in 1955. During World War II he was with the Engineer Combat Battalion of the U. S. Army. He is a member of the American Sociological Society, the Ohio Valley Sociological Society, and of Phi Beta Kappa. He is a regular contributor of articles to various professional magazines and periodicals. An extremely erudite and versatile sociologist, he is in constant demand for consultation in programs that cut across strict disciplinary lines.

7. Facilities

Indiana University is especially well situated to conduct the proposed research and to operate as a social studies curriculum center in the Middle West. Located in close proximity to and allied with the Social Science Education Consortium at Purdue University where basic interdisciplinary work in the social studies is under way, Indiana University enjoys in its own light a well deserved reputation for interdepartmental cooperation and interdisciplinary study. There are over fifteen interdisciplinary programs currently operating at the University many in cooperation with the School of Education. Some of these bear directly on this project.

The School of Education and the liberal arts departments enjoy a close working relationship involving numerous joint programs and, more importantly, the provision of an office of Co-ordinators of School and University Programs, currently employing five co-ordinators, with joint appointments in the School of Education and the College of Arts and Sciences. These Co-ordinators will greatly facilitate the work of the Center in that they maintain a most effective and intimate working relationship with the public schools in Indiana.

The University Laboratory School with its excellent facilities which include large auditoriums, closed-circuit television, a very good library, and a first-rate team of social studies teachers, will give the investigators the opportunity to try out ideas and conduct pilot studies prior to their broader testing in schools over the state. The administration and the faculty of the University School have given their unqualified support to the creation of the proposed Center.

The statistical laboratory of Indiana University which includes computers and IBM machines (IBM 1620 and IBM 7090) will be at the disposal of the investigators. A panel of advisors in statistical analysis will greatly facilitate the work of the Center, especially these aspects dealing with evaluation of instruction and comparison of experimental and control groups.

Between 1960 and 1963 significant pioneer work in defining and testing "inquiry" methods of teaching social studies was completed at Indiana University. Among other things, the work included a series of doctoral dissertations directed by Mr. Shirley H. Engle. It is proposed that one of the persons who participated in these studies should serve as the principal investigator of the research. The work conducted at Indiana University has resulted, directly or indirectly, in the publication of several books, monographs, and articles in professional journals. A list of selected publications is given below.

1. Three issues of the *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* (Autumn, 1960, Spring, 1961, and Autumn, 1961), dealing with (a) social studies research, (b) new goals and programs in the social studies, and (c) critical thinking in the social studies. Contributors included Engle, Ballinger, Lunstrum, Massialas, and others.

2. Three Bulletins (monographs) of the Indiana University School of Education entitled: *Research Prospects in the Social Studies* (January, 1962); *The Indiana Experiments in Inquiry: Social Studies* (May, 1963); *Current Research in Social Studies* (March, 1964). Some of the authors were Engle, Lunstrum, F. Smith, Cox, and Massialas.

3. Special issue of *Social Education* on "Revising the Social Studies" (April, 1963). Authors included Shirley Engle and Byron Massialas.

4. Indiana State Department of Public Instruction, *Social Studies Curriculum Revision Project*. Contributors included John Lunstrum and Shirley Engle.

5. Pamphlet on *Teaching about Communism* (State of Indiana, 1963) Lunstrum *et al*.

6. *Crucial Issues in the Teaching of Social Studies*. (Prentice-Hall, 1964) B. Massialas and A. Kazamias, eds.

7. "Instructional Television and the Classroom Teacher," *Audio-Visual Communication Review* (Spring, 1964), by John Fritz and B. Massialas. The investigators reported on a study regarding history teachers' perception of the educational potential of the Midwest Program on Airborne Television Instruction (MPATI). The project was conducted under the auspices of the National Council for the Social Studies and its audio-visual committee which was chaired by John Lunstrum.

8. *New Challenges in the Social Studies: Implications of Research for Teaching*, Wadsworth Publishing Company; in press. Edited by F. Smith and B. Massialas with contributions by Engle, Lunstrum, and others.

9. *Tradition and Change in Education: A Comparative Study*, by A. Kazamias and B. Massialas. Prentice-Hall; in press.

8. *Duration*

The study is expected to last over a period of five years, from July 1, 1966 to June 30, 1971. As mentioned earlier, the first phase of the study, which will last for about three years, will involve the preparation of political science materials. The second phase, which will last about two years, will primarily involve the application of the prepared materials to actual classroom practice.